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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS,
FROM THEIR
FIRST APPEARANCE ABOVE THE ELBE,
TO THE
DEATH OF EGBERT:
WITH
A MAP OF THEIR ANCIENT TERRITORY.

BY SH. TURNER.

Et si in tanta scriptorum turba, mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac
magnitudine eorum qui nomine officient meo, me confolet.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND;

By Luke Hansard, N^o 6, Great Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

1799.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

ANGLO-SAXONS

FROM THEIR

FIRST APPEARANCE ABOUT THE BEGINNING

Jos. Banks

WITH

A MAP OF THEIR ANCIENT TERRITORIES

BY SAMUEL TURNER.

THE AUTHOR'S OBJECT IN THIS WORK WAS TO PRESENT A
CONCISE AND ACCURATE HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CULLEN, AND W. DODD, IN THE STRAND,
AT THE SIGN OF THE 'GOLDEN LION'.

1809.

P R E F A C E.

THE law of custom exacts a Preface; it is a tribute of respect which the Public require, and few Authors are so unwise as to omit what their Readers expect.

A Preface is usually the Author's apology for his composition. If the ablest veterans of literature seldom venture into the world without one, how can a young adventurer attempt his first campaign, unless he adds that ally, which the practice of better men commands him to procure?

The Author, therefore, confesses, that he has partaken of the literary enthusiasm which distinguishes the times in which he lives. He observed that literature had become the favourite recreation of all classes of society, and was generally admitted to be an abundant source of the most permanent pleasure; he has followed in the general track, and devoted to study those hours of leisure which the busiest may create.

The History of the Anglo-Saxons engaged his

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peculiar attention, because in reading it for his amusement he thought that it had hitherto been too hastily contemplated; he found the references of others so often incorrect, that he knew not at last who the author was that had really examined the original annalists for himself. The inattentive rapidity with which our most esteemed writers have run over this part of our history has been remarked by others, and has produced various criticisms, and some histories.

The view which the present Author has taken of the subject differs from that of his respected predecessors. He thought that the period of the Anglo-Saxon history, which preceded the invasion of England, was worthy of greater attention, because to contemplate the infancy of celebrated nations is among the most pleasing occupations of human curiosity; it is peculiarly important to us, the posterity of the Anglo-Saxons, to know as much as possible of our continental ancestors. The first book of this history states all the information that could be collected on this point.

The history of the Britons, during the era immediately preceding the Saxon invasion, is also of great consequence to the clear perception of the subsequent events. This part of our antiquities

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quities has been much neglected by our general historians; an humble attempt has been made, in the latter part of the first book, to select the truest incidents from the obscurity and error with which they are enveloped.

The defence of Britain by the natives, though highly interesting, has never been sufficiently studied. On this subject it appeared of supreme importance to consult the evidence of the Britons themselves. The present day happens to be more favourable to this subject than any preceding era. The literature of the ancient Britons, after a long oblivion disgraceful to our curiosity, is now under the attention of gentlemen able to disclose it. Some of its treasures have been brought forward. The Author has eagerly availed himself of these, though few in comparison of what actually exist, and trusts that the intelligent curiosity of the Public will call out of their dust the numerous compositions which have so long slumbered, uselessly to the world, in private libraries, and a forgotten tongue. With such unpardonable neglect have these relics of our ancient islanders been treated, that even Welchmen have complained that their language was unintelligible, and a manuscript of old British music is in existence, of which the notation is

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not at present to be decyphered. While it could have been understood it was disregarded, and thus a monument of ancient days, highly precious to every inquisitive mind, is lost to us for ever.

The Poems of the Bards, mentioned in the second book of this Work, ought to appear with literal translations and notes; the British Triades ought also to be published *. If any old British genealogies exist, they should be collected; every British fragment, that at all appertains to history, should be secluded no longer. Bretagne as well as Wales should be explored. The Danish literati have given, in this respect, an example to the world. A collection like Langebek's *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum medii Ævi*, partim hactenus inediti, should appear from every country; and until such efforts are made to rescue the relics of history from the destruction which has already consumed some, and is about to annihilate the rest, the literati of every country deserve to be stigmatized for their fatal indolence.

Of the great Arthur so much has been fabled, and so much has been denied, that it was impossible

* The Poems and Triades are now printing in their original language. It is to be hoped that their publication will stimulate some gentleman to a translation.

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to pass over his actions in silence. It is now beyond our power to give his history in luminous detail. As far as the Author could safely venture he has advanced, and he has separated the Arthur of tradition from the Arthur of history. He thought it was interesting to have some of the traditions preserved, which were not only esteemed, but credited by former ages, and he has therefore inserted them in the Appendix. If they should be found to be beneath the notice of the literati, they may be serviceable to some British Virgil.

The incidents of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy, (for so he begs permission to name the Saxon heptarchy) have not been allowed the merit which they possess. The Author may be too partial to his subject, but he has always thought that the history of the Anglo-Saxon governments was full of interesting anecdotes, which had never received the consideration they claimed.

These circumstances are all which the Author has attempted in this part of his Work. Another volume will carry on the Anglo-Saxon history from Egbert to the Norman conquest, and some new matter will be occasionally inserted in it. This part is preparing for the press.

To complete the Anglo-Saxon history, a review of their laws, manners, government, litera-

ture, and religion, will be requisite. May not the progress of the human mind from barbarism to knowledge be viewed in epitome in the history of every nation which has undergone this happy progress? It is the Author's intention, in this third part of his Work, to exhibit the gradual advances of the Anglo-Saxon intellect; to display the savage pirate slowly ameliorating into the civilized, moral, and scientific man. But this attempt will be peculiarly difficult; much illusion of conjecture must be guarded against; many little traits must be collected, without which the picture cannot be completed, and consequently some time must elapse before the performance can venture to approach the public eye.

When he recollects that he is about to appear before that Public, whose esteem is becoming every day more valuable, because the prosperity and consequence of the country are every day augmenting, he cannot repress sensations of the most anxious awe. It is in vain that he may state, that his Work, being the child of leisure hours, could receive only an attention occasional and interrupted; he feels that the public judgment is not formed on the personal considerations of the individual, but on the substantial merit of the composition; it is here that his ground trembles

trembles beneath him ; it is this reflection which has awakened many a desponding anticipation ; it is here that he dreads and deprecates comparison.

The historical compositions which adorn our nation the Author has long contemplated as a young artist surveys the works of a Raphael—with emulation—but with despair ; yet to fail in a commendable pursuit is no disgrace, because the effort of competition is a merit ; excellence itself cannot be visible without attendant mediocrity, and the Author will be satisfied if his essay be admitted into the train of the illustrious who have preceded, though it be but to enhance their beauties, or, like a humble valet, to serve up those circumstantial minutiae which their commanding minds have disdained to accumulate.

He will only add, that he has procured and consulted the original authorities in every possible instance. The Authors he quotes are those which he has himself examined ; if he has derived a reference he has remarked it ; it has not been often.

The Map is from the *Tabula Ducatus Holstiae* of Pontanus, with a few additions and adaptations.

A few verbal errata have escaped the Author's revifal ; for
which he apologizes.

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HISTOIRY
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The Origin of the Saxons.

THE Anglo-Saxons were the people who, CHAP.
I.
in different divisions, transported themselves from the Cimbric peninsula and its vicinity into England. They were branches of the great Saxon confederation, which from the Elbe extended itself at last to the Rhine. The hostilities of this formidable people made the western regions of Europe tremble at their name; and when Rome, the usurping empress of the world, admitted the barbaric myriads to partition her most valuable provinces, the Anglo-Saxons seized Britain as their spoil, in the commencement of

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its troubled independance. The ancient inhabitants, and the progeny of the Roman settlers, disappeared as they advanced, or accepted their yoke, and Saxon laws, Saxon language, Saxons manners, government, and barbarism, overspread the land.

This mighty revolution, than which history presents to us none more complete, has made the fortunes of the Saxons during every period interesting and instructive to us. Though other invaders have shaded the island with the banners of conquest, yet the effects of the Anglo-Saxon settlements have prevailed beyond every other. Our language, our government, and our laws, display our Cimbrie ancestors in every part: they live not merely in our annals and traditions, but in our civil institutions and perpetual discourse. The parent tree is indeed greatly amplified by branches engrafted on it from other regions, and by the new shoots, which the accidents of time, and the improvements of society, have produced; but it discovers yet its Saxon origin, and retains its Saxon properties, though more than thirteen centuries have rolled over, with all their tempests and vicissitudes.

The present composition aspires to relate the history of this celebrated nation, with whose antiquities

ANGLO-SAXONS.

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CHAP.
I.

quities our present state is so essentially connected. The first division of their transactions will comprize their continental history previous to their emigration. The second will narrate their establishments in Britain, and the incidents which followed, up to the æra of the Norman conquest.

Although the Saxon name became the appellation of a great confederacy of nations, yet at first it denoted a single state. The Romans began to remark it during the second century of the christian æra: until that period it had escaped the notice of the conquerors of the world, and the happy obscurity was rewarded by the absence of that desolation, which the ambition of the great republic poured profusely on mankind.

Ptolemy the Alexandrian was the first writer whom we know to have mentioned the Saxons. By the passage in his geography, and by the concurrence of all their future history, it is ascertained, that before the year 141 after Christ¹, there was a people called Saxones, who inhabited

¹ Ptolemy lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius according to Suidas, vol. iii. p. 646. Em. P., but he testifies himself in the 7th book Mag. Synt. p. 167, that he made astronomical observations at Alexandria in the 2d year of Ant. Pius, or ann. Christ. 139. 3 Feb. Bibl. Græc. 412. He speaks also of an eclipse of the moon in the 9th of Adrian, or ann. Chr. 125. De la Lande's Astron. i. p. 312. He mentions no observation beyond 141. Ib. 117.

a territory on the north side of the Elbe, on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus², and three small islands at the mouth of this river. From the same author it is also clear, that the Saxones were of no great importance at this period, for in this peninsula, which is now divided into Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein, no fewer than six other nations are stationed, besides the Saxones and the remnant of the Cimbri³.

But it is not probable that the Saxons should have started suddenly into existence in the days of Ptolemy. The question of their previous history has been therefore much agitated, and an equal quantity of learning and of absurdity has been brought forward upon the subject.

It has been observed, that to explain the origin of the Saxons, the most wild and inconsistent fictions have been framed⁴. But it is not
this

² To suit his peculiar system, Rudbeck transports both the Saxons and the Chersonesus itself into Scandinavia. Spener's Notit. Germ. Ant. p. 374; but the power of this magician was of small duration. The people and their territory were soon carried back.

³ Cl. Ptolemæus Geog. l. ii. c. 11. Pontanus comments upon it. Chorog. Daniæ, p. 648. Marcianus of Heraclea, somewhat later than Ptolemy, gives the Saxons the same position on the neck of the Chersonesus. Pont. ib. 651. The geographical Lexicographer of Byzantium, usually named Stephanus, briefly says, "dwelling in the Cimbric Chersonesus." Stæph. Byz. voc. Saxones.

⁴ Krantz remarked this: "Ita puerilibus fabulis et anilibus deliramentis

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5

CHAP.
I.

this nation only which has been thus distinguished by the perverseness of the human mind labouring to explore inscrutable antiquity : every people may recount similar puerilities.

To claim an extravagant duration has been the folly of every state which has risen to any eminence. We have heard in our childhood of the dreams of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese; and we know that even Athenians could wear a golden grasshopper^s as an emblem that they sprung fortuitously from the earth they cultivated in ages far beyond the reach of human history; we may therefore pardon the fables of the Saxon patriots.

It was impossible to connect the transactions of their countrymen with the Roman world, because the silence of earlier authors was decisive to prove, that until the middle of the second century they were unknown to the civilized world; but to weave out of pretended domestic traditions a history rising many ages above the Egyptian geographer, was an easier and more specious fraud. It would controvert no accredited

liramentis omnia scatent, ut nihil in his sibi constet, nihil quadret. Saxonia, p. 1. Yet the absurdity of others did not preserve him from an imitation.

^s Potter's *Antiq. of Greece*, v. i. p. 2. So the Arcadians boasted they were *πρωτεστοι*, or before the moon. *Ib.* p. 1.

B 3

narration,

narration, and national vanity willingly permits the want of positive evidence. Hence the Saxons have a history to produce, which in antiquity may satisfy the most extravagant genealogist; but, as most unfortunately for the safety of our ancestry, antiquaries are always as eager to destroy each other as to exalt the honour of their common nation, there is nothing but a mass of contradictions to be related, which will make the sceptical world incredulous as to all.

That luxury and refinement should, amongst other vices, generate pride, would be no novelty in human experience; but that the rude sons of nature, scarcely emerged from their forests and their dens, should be familiar to this passion, is a circumstance less expected by our reason. The Saxons are but one part of the European states, who have coveted a duration almost coeval with creation. To have appeared on the world but so recently as the second century of our æra was a national disgrace, and to cleanse the intolerable stain, a succession of ancestors from the very deluge itself has been ostentatiously recorded in contemptuous emulation of the rest of mankind. The exact parent is not indeed determined, because the taste of our heralds has disagreed. Some have preferred Magog⁶, the grandson

⁶ Wern. Rolevinck de Westphal. ant. Situ, p. 13, &c.

grandson of Noah; many his grandson Gomer⁷; and others have been most partial to his great grandson Askenaz⁸. With more ardent patriotism some have ascended a little higher, in order to assert an origin which could not be surpassed. Hence Shem⁹, the eldest of Noah's offspring, and Japhet¹⁰, the youngest, have been variously selected. But as the human mind delights in contradiction, the antediluvian sons of the antediluvian patriarch, however unexceptionable for their antiquity, have not been honoured with an unanimous choice. It is the privilege immemorially assumed by an antiquary to exhibit his learning, and to indulge his caprice. Some of our annalists have felt this impulse, and the claims of Shem and Japhet have in their minds been superseded by the merits of

⁷ Langhorn, who, to begin ab ovo, opens his Elenchus with an account of Adam and Eve, settles Gomer in Baſtriana at first; but conveys him afterwards to Scythia Sacana, from which his posterity, spreading through Scythia intra Imaum, became divided into the Saſones and other tribes. *Antiquit. Albion. xi. 326.*

⁸ This derivation is among those mentioned by Krantz, p. 4; but Lazius de Gent. al. Migrat. p. 19, makes the Askenazians the people who were ejected by the Trojan Saxons.

⁹ Aſſer Menev. p. 4, leads the pedigree of Alfred up to Shem, and to Adam. So others.

¹⁰ *Hiſt. Erpheſt. de 1 Rer. Germ. Piſtori, 908. and others.*

BOOK
I.

their brother Strefius". It is true that this Strefius is a venerable person, with whom Moses was unacquainted; but our more learned countrymen have discovered that he was born in the floating ark. We must excel each other in the length of our national as well as individual genealogy, or our spirit of competition will not be gratified, nor our envy appeased.

When the Saxon pedigree had been sufficiently guarded, a brilliant history was yet wanting to their glory. Some friendly pens have supplied this defect. The defenders of Troy are immortal amongst mankind, and the erudition of some have perceived that the Saxons marched with the battalions of Priam¹². But to be the children of vanquished fugitives was less palatable to others, and a destiny more glorious has been claimed for those whose posterity have filled Germany and Britain with their colonies. The triumphant Alexander was the general alone wor-

¹¹ William Malmſbury, 41. Strefius filius Noë. Sim. Dun. adds, in archa natus. Præf. x Script. Twyſd. Langhorn Ant. Alb. 334, ſaw one MSS. genealogy, which derives Strefius from Japhet. The Lanſedgatal, an Icelandic composition, interpoſes ſeveral generations between Strefius, when it names Selkeſ and Noah. 1 Langb. Scrip. Dan. p. 3.

¹² Trithemius, in the name of Waſthald de Orig. Franc. p. 3, 64. exhibits the Saxons as a progeny of Trojans. Lazius alſo makes them part "of the fatal relics of the Trojan war," de Gent. Migrat. 19.

thy to have led the ancient Saxons to the field of martial honour: they followed him to the stream of victory, and on his death, to elude the envy excited by their exploits, they exchanged the slothful plains of the East for the hardier soil of the Germanic continent. The Thuringians did not receive the heroes with the confidence they exacted, but fraud and violence soon extorted a country ¹³.

In the sixteenth century these details were found to be warranted by no evidence, and fell into discredit; but the glory of the Saxons possessed a vivaciousness which survived destruction, and sprang up like Antæus with new vigour from its misfortune. They were admitted to be neither Trojans nor Macedonians; they were Germans, indigenous Germans ¹⁴, polluted by no fo-

¹³ This derivation was at one time the most popular. It is found in Wittichind Gest. Sax. p. 2, and was firmly believed by Gotfred. Viterb. 2 Pist. 361.

*Saxo, velut credo, patria fuit ante Macedo,
Regis Alexandri miles ubique fuit.*

The authors who have adopted this idea are very numerous. It is one of the facts on which the celebrated Agrippa founds his Philippic against History. De Van. Scient. p. 25.

¹⁴ Many continental writers affirm this. Among these is Bebelius, a man of merit; but whose learning and eloquence were too partially pressed into the service of his patriotism. He discovers his ancient Germans not only to have been valiant, but perpetually victorious; not only to have possessed mind, strength, beauty, and integrity, but superior mind, strength, beauty, and an integrity unparalleled in the world. See his tract in 1 Schard. Hist. Germ. 256—286.

reign

HISTORY OF THE

reign-race, and they were flourishing in arms and commerce above a thousand years before the christian æra. What claim of vanity could be bolder than this? They were active on the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems¹⁵, before, perhaps, these rivers had been at all disturbed by any human oars!

The effect of evidence on the mind is as various as the perceptions and affociations of individuals. The authorities which were decisive in the estimation of one scholar, were light as chaff in the judgment of another. When once the origin of the Saxons was submitted to investigation, conjecture began to unfold its plumes, and soared in devious flights through the dark expanse of historical erudition.

No principle of judgment governed its exertions: men were only solicitous to be singular; and if the opinion were but novel, its extravagance was overlooked. Hence the Cimbri¹⁶, the

¹⁵ Krantz (Saxonia, p. 5.) was betrayed into this mistake by accrediting the reveries of Saxo Grammaticus, of which Chrytæus says truly, "poetica magis quam historica fide scripta temporum etiam, "ut tota ipsius historia, distinctione accurate carent." Saxonia Proemium.

¹⁶ Aventinus Ann. Boiorum, p. 388, and Sheringham de Orig. Angl. 45, one of the most learned and intelligent of our antiquaries.

Chauci¹⁷, and the Suevi¹⁸, or, if their advocates have rather prevailed, the Boii¹⁹, the Suardones²⁰, and the Catti²¹, can each boast an identity with the Saxon nation. For proofs of the affinity of either we may enquire, but our search will be unavailing; the whimsical selection and casual belief of the writers are the strongest authorities by which they are supported. It was the same sort of authentication, combined with the grossest ignorance of the transactions of nations, which has induced two authors, interesting from their proximity both in time and place to the Saxon emigration, to derive this people from the very island which they invaded²². Others, seduced

¹⁷ See Glareanus and Althamerus in 1 Schard. Hist. Ger. 187, 48.

¹⁸ Bebelius, 1 Schard. 241.

¹⁹ Eneas Sylvius (Pope Pius 2d) in his *Historia Bohemica*, c. 1, p. 3, says, the Saccania is one of the rivers which the Multavia receives. The episode annexed to this was, that such of the Galli Boii as were driven over the Saccania were denominated Saxons. Krantz Sax. p. 3.

²⁰ Langhorn's *Antiq. Alb.* 333, intimates the Suardones of Tacitus to be the Saxon name distorted by negligent transcribers; because Saxones might easily slip into Sardones, and that into Suardones.

²¹ This is the favourite idea of Krantz (*Saxon.* p. 4.) which Reineccius denominates *foedum errorem*. *Praef. to Wittichind. Chryseus* admits that it seemed *durior et alienior alijs eruditjs*. *Proem.*

²² Meginhard delivers it with an *ut tradit antiquitas*. *Vita S. Alexandri*, 2 Langb. *Scrip. Dan.* 39. He wrote about 870. He is the author whom Adam of Bremen, in the eleventh century, quotes,

seduced by the vicinity of situation, beheld their parents in the Danes and Northmen; and even an author of our own period has thought that the Vandals of Scandinavia²³ have juster claims to this honour than all the rest.

But those antiquarians, whose narrow views looked only into Europe for the cradle of our ancestors, may be despised as indolent by the adventurous spirits who have made Asia and Africa the regions of their research. So indefatigable has been the activity of some, that the Pontic Chersonesus has been visited²⁴, the classic Euxine navigated²⁵, Armenia traversed²⁶, and Mount Imaus

p. 4, under the name of Eginhard. Until lately he has been confounded with the biographer of Charlemagne. His work was thought lost, Fabr. Bibl. Medii Ævi, l. 5, p. 264. It was fancied to have been a curious history of the Saxons. It has been found to be but the life of a saint, containing no more about the Saxons than what Adam has extracted into his Hist. Eccl.

The chronicle of Conrad, which Melanchthon published with commendations, repeats the story. Abb. Usper. Chron. p. 145.

²³ Macpherson's Introduction to the History of Great Britain, p. 291. 12^o ed. The Danish origin had been started before by Wittichind. See this ancient author, p. 2. Leibnitz inclined to it.

²⁴ M. Casaubon de Ling. Sax. 393. The modesty of Casaubon intitles him to respect: "In hac tanta et ipsarum rerum obscuritate et opinionum varietate, non meum neque fortasse cujusquam vel diligentissimi quicquam certe statuere."

²⁵ Capnio and others supposed the Axones on the Euxine to have been the Saxons. Cisner's preface to Krantz Sax. and M. Casaub. 392. Capnio contends the Saxones of Ptolemy should be read *axones*.

²⁶ The Chronicon Holsatiæ says, that Alexander found in Armenia

Imaus approached ²⁷. Wherever the chorographical polemic has turned his eye, this fairy people have appeared. Distance has been no difficulty; impossibility no impediment; but the bleak deserts of Scythia ²⁸, and the sands of Africa ²⁹, have alike been presented to us as the birth place of that tribe, which in the days of Ptolemy just darkened the neck of the peninsula of Jutland, and three inconsiderable islands in its neighbourhood.

nia a hardy race of men, who partook of all his expeditions, and whose name, from their valour, he changed into Saxones from saxum, a rock. Leibnitz *Access. Histor.* 12.

²⁷ Beyond the Jaxartes, according to Strabo, and opposite to the Sogdiani, according to Eratosthenes, and half enclosed by the mountains of Ascatanea and Imaus, according to Ptolemy, were the Sacæ, whom Pliny distinguishes as the most celebrated people of Scythia. It was the opinion formerly of almost all the learned, that from these the Saxons descended. Cifner *Præf.* Camden favours it. Strabo exhibits the Sacæ, on the Caspian, as robbers, who made incursions far and near; who seized Bactriana, and the best part of Armenia, which they named Sacasena, and had reached the Cappadoces and Pontici; but they perished under the Persian sword, l. 11. p. ⁷⁷⁹₅₁₂. Weiff. *Ant. Misn. Sax.* 231.

²⁸ North of the Sacæ, and near the Syebian and Tapurian mountains, Ptolemy has placed another people, the Sasones. These have been selected as our ancestors. Krantz *Saxonia*, 2. This opinion has been united with the former. Sasones, Sacæsons, Saciones, Saxones. Cifner *Præf.*

²⁹ Verstegan quotes Occa Scarlenis for this derivation. Suffridus Petri has courageously undertaken the defence of Occa's veracity, *Apol. pro Ant. Fris. Hist.* p. 180. I wonder no one has thought of the Saxoi, near the Pontus, according to Stephanus, or the Saxinæ, who were some troglodytes in Ethiopia, according to Pliny. Ortelius *Theaur. Geograph.* in voc.

A con-

A contemporary of our own, whose general merits no historian will deny, has taken a flight on this subject which is peculiarly eccentric. His genius, disdaining the chilling prudence which would dictate hesitation amid obscurity so impenetrable, has exerted the prerogative as well as spirit of a Virgil, and set both chronology and geography at defiance. He finds the Saxons in almost all parts of Europe, and in almost all ages; at one time marauding in Europe as Celto-Scythæ, intimidating the Romans as Ambrones from Liguria, afterwards peeping out to Lucan in the name of Axones, then settling in Gaul in the character of Sueffiones, and at last haunting the natives of the British isles in the terrific shape of the Lochlynach; but in vain the Celtic Pro-tæi shifted their disguises; the historian of Manchester has pierced through all ³⁰.

It may be useful to consider all these speculations as chimerical, that we may not endeavour to multiply the number: they are revived to memory here to point out the deceitfulness of the coast, not to call down upon their authors a peevish censure. Visions like these our surliest criticism may pardon. To emblazon our

³⁰ Hist. Manch. i. p. 427. Mr. Whitaker must not be mentioned without praise for his acute ingenuity and indefatigable industry; but his fancy is too ardent, and his judgment too precipitate.

obscurity with the glory of a noble ancestor is not a deadly sin; and when most of these theories were framed, the posterity of the Saxons could not, as they may now, claim a celebrity, a language, a commerce, and a power, only bounded by the limits of the world.

It has been much wondered that Tacitus, who wrote a particular description of Germany many years before Ptolemy, should have omitted to name the Saxons.³¹ Every author has been unwilling to suppose that they came to the Elbe in the short interval between these authors; and therefore it has been very generally imagined, that the nation to whom Tacitus gave the denomination of Fosi³² were the warriors who acquired afterwards so much celebrity under the name of Saxons.

Before such violent suppositions are admitted, it seems necessary to ask, if Ptolemy mentions any other people in his geography of Germany, whom Tacitus has not noticed? if he does, the

³¹ Conringius thinks, that by some unexplained accident, time has effaced from the text of Tacitus a passage about the Saxons. Schilter's *Thef. Ant. Teut.* iii. p. 704.

³² Cellarius *Geog. Ant.* i. p. 303, and Cluverius, iii. *Germ. Ant.* 87, and many others, assert this. Spener with diffidence defends it. *Notit. Germ. Ant.* 363. With a manly but rare impartiality he states forcibly the objections to the opinion he adopts, 371. Leibnitz places the Fosi on the Fusa, a river which falls into the Aller, near Zell. *Ib.* 372.

omission of Tacitus is not in the present case singular; if he does not, the conjecture that the Fosi were the Saxons comes to us with authority.

Upon comparing the Cimbric Chersonesus of Tacitus with the delineation of the same place by Ptolemy, the question above stated is decided. Ptolemy does not mention the Saxones only as being there; on the contrary, he names separately six other nations before he comes to the Cimbri. Tacitus, after mentioning the Frisii, Chauci, and Cherusci, speaks of the Fosi, and closes his account of this part of Germany with the Cimbri. Tacitus has not merely neglected to name the Saxons, but also the Sigulones, the Sabalingii, the Cobandi, the Chali, the Phundusii, and the Charudes³³. If either of these tribes had risen to eminence, the one so successful would have been thought the Fosi. The Saxons won the prize of renown, and their celebrity, rather than their situation, made some gentlemen desi-

³³ Cluverius thus stations these tribes. The Sigulones northward from the Saxons, as far as Tunderen and Appenrade; Sabalingii, above these, to the Nipsa and Tobesket, on which are Ripen and Kolding; Cobandi, thence to Holm and Horsens; Chali, beyond these to Hensburg and Hald; the Phundusii and Charudes on the west and east, northward, to the Lymfort; and the Cimbri in Wensussel. *Ant. Ger.* iii. p. 94. See also on this Chorography Pontanus, p. 649.

rous to find them in Tacitus. The name of Fosi, CHAP.
I.
cannot be strictly applied to the Saxons with
more justice than to the others³⁴.

But it cannot be inferred from the silence of Tacitus, that the Saxons were not above the Elbe in his days. In this part of his map of Germany, he does not seem to have intended to give that minute detail of information which Ptolemy, fortunately for our subject, has delivered. Tacitus directed his philosophical eye on the German states, who differed in manners as well as in name. He seldom presents a mere nomenclature; he seems to enumerate those the most carefully, whose wars, customs, fame, vicissitudes, and power, had distinguished them from the rest. As the Saxons and their neighbours were not remarkable in either of these circumstances, he knew them not, or he passed them over; but Ptolemy pursues the plan of a plain and accurate chorographer; he is solicitous to mark positions, latitudes, distances, and names, leaving narrations of history and manners almost out of his consideration. It was therefore a part of his

³⁴ Strabo, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, exhibit a very natural progression of information on the German geography. Tacitus gives a more accurate detail than Strabo, and Ptolemy, writing later, is still more minute.

plan to notice the Saxons, as it was consistent in Tacitus to have omitted them.

The only inferences which can be safely drawn from the silence of the son in law of Agricola and the preceding geographers are, that the Saxons were then an obscure and inconsiderable people, and had neither molested the nations of greater notoriety, nor incurred the enmity of the Roman government.

After the above specimens, it would be ludicrous to open a new contention on the Saxon origin. The subject will be therefore dismissed after a few remarks upon a ground where our footing is secure.

The languages which prevail in Europe seem to be the ramifications of three principal languages, in which the ancient inhabitants of Europe unquestionably conversed. These original instruments of human conversation, in the western and northern regions of the world, have been denominated the Celtic³⁵, the Gothic, and the Slavonic.

³⁵ Dr. Percy's preface to Mallet's North. Antiq. xxiv. gives a statement of the ramifications of the Gothic and Celtic. The whole preface endeavours to establish a just and important distinction between the two races of men who used these languages. That the Erse and the ancient British are related languages has been lately doubted. The question is worthy of examination, and will be considered in the Appendix.

Of the Celtic the branches were the Ancient British, the Erse, the Irish, the Cornish, the Armorican, and the Manks ³⁶: a visible similarity of structure and of words, in the opinion of many, connects these together. They differ, as all dialects differ in countries separated from each other, maintaining intercourse with other nations, and invaded by various enemies with fluctuating fortune; but philologists have classed them under one and the same genus.

Another collection of languages, whose affinity is apparent and undisputed, has been arranged under the term Gothic ³⁷. It consists of the ancient Saxon, and its children or cousins, the English, the Lowland Scotch, the Frisic, and the Belgic: it contains also the Franco-Theotisc and its descendants, the German, the Suabian, and the Swiss: it also comprizes the Icelandic, the Norse, the Danish, the Swedish, and the

³⁶ It is to be regretted, that no Hickes has attempted a Thesaurus of the Celtic languages, and faithful collections of their genuine relics. Why do the descendants of the Celtæ suffer us to be abused with suppositious Ossians? The rude fragment published with religious fidelity is what the historian wants, not the elegant fabrications of imposture.

³⁷ Hickes's Ling. vet. Sept. Thesaur. furnishes us with invaluable knowledge on the Gothic languages. It contains institutions of the Anglo-Saxon, Mæso-Gothic, Franco-Theotisc, and Islandic, enriched with a dedication, prefaces, and an epistolary dissertation, for which we cannot be too grateful.

Orkneyan. Undoubted monuments of the ancient British, the Saxon, and the Franco-Theotisc, in the state which they preserved before the ninth century, still remain for our examination ³⁸. Many compositions of the old Icelandic, of the eleventh and preceding centuries ³⁹, are also in being, from which every student of language can satisfy himself that the Celtic and the Gothic ought in none of their branches to be confounded with each other ⁴⁰.

The Slavonic is a genus of languages which every one would separate from the preceding. The present Russian has been thought to be the most faithful specimen of the original Slavonic ⁴¹. The Poles, the Bohemians, the Dalmatians, the

³⁸ Of the ancient British are the precious compositions of Talieffin, Myrddhin, Aneurin, and Meigant. These authors have preserved to us venerable monuments of the principal branch of the Celtic. For the Saxon remains, see the writings mentioned in Hickes's Thesaur. and Wotton's Conspectus annexed. Schilter's Thesaurus contains the Franco-Theotisc translation of the gospels by Otto, some other remains of this language, and a curious glossary.

³⁹ Many of these have been published by the northern literati, with Latin translations, and contain much interesting history.

⁴⁰ Mr. Pinkerton has with great learning settled the distinction between the Celts and the Goths, in his elaborate dissertation on the origin of the Scythians, &c. In him and Mr. Whitaker we possess two of that class of men now too rare, to whom ancient learning is precious. The physical sciences have a right to numerous votaries, but not to monopolize the attention of mankind.

⁴¹ Encyclopedia Britan. art. Philology, p. 565.

Croatians, the Bulgarians, Carinthians, Moravians, and some other tribes adjacent, formerly used its various dialects⁴². It prevailed in those parts of Europe where the antients placed the Sarmatæ⁴³. The numerous tribes who spoke the Sclavonic preserved their ancient name of Venedi long after their invasion of Germany, in the fifth or sixth century, though they were also called Slavi. Their successes enabled them to reach the Saxons and the Franks, but their conquests were terminated by the opposition of Charlemagne, and their incessant civil feuds.

The incontrovertible fact of the existence in ancient Europe of at least three genera of languages, strongly distinguished from each other, conducts us safely to the conclusion, that the collections of nations who spoke them must have also differed in the chronology of their origin. As the Celtic tribes were found in the most

⁴² The extent of the nationes Slavorum, and of their language, is stated by Helmoldus, Chron. Slav. p. 3; by Krantz in his Wandalia, p. 2; by Chrytæus, Wandalia, p. 3; by Munster, & Schard. Hist. Germ. 486; and by Faber, Rer. Musc. 132. On the Slavi see Spener's Notitia, ii. p. 384. Sunt a Germanis plane diversi generis. Pontanus, Chor. Dan. 710.

⁴³ Dubravii Hist. Bohem. 44. Helmoldus, p. 3, says, that the Hungarians nec habitu nec lingua discrepant. But Krantz disputes his authority, and affirms, that all acknowledge the Hungarian and Sclavonic to be dissimilar languages. Wandalia, 36.

western extremities of Europe, it is reasonable to infer that they visited it earlier than the others : so the Slavonic peoples, residing about its eastern boundaries, may be fairly considered as the latest settlers. The Gothic states, from their position, claim justly an intermediate date. As they advanced westwards, the Celtæ retired before them. In the days of Cæsar, one of the Gothic tribes had even penetrated into Britain and Gaul, if not into Ireland. As the ramifications of the Goths spread toward the Germanic Ocean, the Slavonic hordes flowed after them from Asia. The Saxon was one of the Gothic states, and it was as far west as the Elbe in the days of Ptolemy. The Saxons were therefore, in all likelihood, as ancient visitors of Europe as the Belgæ, the Germans, or any other Gothic tribe. Their situation seems to indicate that they moved among the foremost columns of the vast Gothic emigration ; but the particular date of their arrival on the Elbe, or their particular derivation, it is impossible to prove, and therefore unprofitable to discuss.

Etymology
of the
name.

The etymology of the name Saxones has been disputed as pertinaciously as their origin. As long as literature is prized by mankind, even trifles will be elaborately discussed, because all intellectual

intellectual contests give lustre to the combatants.

Three leaders, of the name of Saxo, have been supposed to have bequeathed the appellation to their followers. The classic historians having painted this nation with the features of terror, the word Saxum, a rock, as an expression of unrelenting ferocity, has been thought to have produced the name. Sacæsons, the sons of the Sacæ; Sassen, a settled people; S-ueff-on or S-ax-on, Celtic⁴⁴ for the waters or the river; and Saex or Sachs, the weapon they fought with, have each found its advocate. Other fancies have been indulged⁴⁵. It can be neither prudent nor useful to agitate a subject which admits of so much doubt: there is no direct evidence extant upon it: the chance of greater probability is the only light by which we can pursue the true etymology; but the scale of probabilities is no permanent criterion. Our estimation of the rank they should respectively

⁴⁴ This etymology is a research into the Celtic for the meaning of a Gothic word. For the others, see Cambden's Introduction. Spener's Notit. Ger. 365. Verstegan's Restitution. Schilter's Thesaur. p. 695.

⁴⁵ As from Sak, a pirate. Weiffius in Struvius Bibl. Hist. p. 1094. See another in M. Casaub. de Ling. Ang. 397.

hold, varies too much with the fashions of the day, and therefore the gradations of probability are oftentimes both illusive and contradictory. The etymology from the weapons is the most specious, and has the most numerous supporters.

CHAP. II.

Description of the Country inhabited by the Saxons.

THE infant state of this distinguished people exhibited nothing from which human sagacity would have predicted greatness. A territory, on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and three small islands, contained those who were destined to be the ancestors of nations, which almost divide the empire of the world. The circle of Westphalia, the electorate of Saxony, the British islands, the united states of North America, and the British colonies in the two Indies, have been peopled by the prolific ramifications of this small population. With such disdain of human calculations do the agents of the great providence operate, that empires, whose swollen ambition menace a continent with slavery, are shattered into ruin in a single generation, while spots scarce visible, or contemptuously overlooked, rise gradually to an alpine grandeur, and inherit the veneration of mankind.

The three islands, which the Saxons of Ptolemy inhabited, were those which we now denominate

CHAP.
II.

Saxon
lands.

nominate North Strandt, Busen, and Heilig-land ⁴⁶.

North Strandt, formerly torn from South Jutland by the violence of the waves, is situated opposite to Hefum, and above Eiderstedt, from both which it is separated by intervals of sea. The Hever, a bay which flows below it, and washes the northern shore of the Eiderstedt, is favourable to commercial navigations. This island was formerly about 20 miles long, and in most parts 7 miles broad. It once contained 22 parishes, and was noted for its agricultural produce, as well as its fish ⁴⁷. The raging of the sea has materially damaged this island since the time of the Saxons. Four calamitous inundations are recorded to have happened in 1300, 1483, 1532, and 1615; but the most terrible of all began in the night of the 11th October 1634; the island was intirely overflowed; 6,408 persons, 1,332 houses, and 50,000

⁴⁶ Cluver. Ant. Ger. iii. p. 97. Pontanus Chorog. 737. Du Bos Histoire Critique, i. p. 148. The geographer of Ravenna places Eufrachia among the Saxon isles, l. 5. c. 30. This may mean the neighbouring peninsula, Eyderstadt, which was almost an island.

⁴⁷ Chrytæus, 65. Pontanus adds to his account the poetry of Jonas ab Elvervelt upon it:

"Ne bona securæ defint mihi commoda vitæ,

"Me pecorum ditat cura, boumque labor," p. 741.

Its orthography is variously given.

50,000 head of cattle, were washed away into the sea ⁴⁸. Such dreadful devastations have almost annihilated the place. There is now remaining of Nord-strand only the small parish of Pelworm, which derives its safety from the height of its situation.

Busen lies north of the mouth of the Elbe, ^{Busen,} and to the westward of Ditmarsia; it looks towards Meldorp; its breadth is above two miles, and its length near three; it is situated close upon the main land, of which it is suspected to have once formed a part. Being one even plain, the stormy ocean which environs makes it a perilous habitation; it has therefore been surrounded by a strong dyke, to propel the assaulting waves, and to give to its natives the sleep of security. Its vicinity to the continent invests it with a charm superior to the attractions of the other islands and islets, which swarm round Jutland. It contains three or four parishes, and about as many villages. It boasts no pre-eminence of soil, but it commonly yields its produce with moderate fertility. The verses transcribed by Pontanus announce its inhabitants

⁴⁸ The destruction extended to other parts of Jutland. In the Eyderittede, 664 houses, 2,107 persons, and 12,000 cattle and sheep, were swept off. Busching's Geography.



to have been employed in agriculture, pasturage, and fishing. The same author with feeling energy attests the abundance of the latter supply. "An incredible multitude blesses the people of the islands with a variety which is converted into tons of gold." He takes the trouble to enumerate the species ⁴⁹.

Heilig-
island.

But the most celebrated, and the most frequented of the Saxon islands was Heilig-island. The words literally mean the sacred island, but the date and reason of this epithet are now lost ⁵⁰. In the eleventh century it had two other names; Farria, and Foffetis-land, which have been written with various orthography.

In the German Ocean ⁵¹, not 40 miles distant

⁴⁹ Pontanus Chorog. 737, 738, and 741. He derives its name from Buysen, or Busch, a wood. His vernacular names of the fishes, with their Latin names of that day, are in p. 741.

⁵⁰ Some derive the name from Hilgo, a bishop of the place; others, and in the opinion of Pontanus, verior, from some holy virgins who inhabited it. Their sacred steps the respectful grass never covered, as all the natives will attest and show. Pontanus Chorog. 739. The name Foffetisland arose from its idol Fofete, Altfriidus, in Spener's Notitia, 372.

⁵¹ This description is collected from Adam Bremen, p. 64. Pontanus Chorog. 738—740. 1 Busching's Geography, 166—168, and from the communications of some gentlemen who have frequented the coast. Nieuwerk, at the very mouth of the Elbe, is a mere sand, with a beacon upon it. In 1714, the island was annexed to the crown of Denmark: it had been formerly possessed by the dukes of Holstein Gottorf. Busching.

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from Eiderstadt, and rather farther from the mouth of the Elbe, stands this venerated place. If a line from the Elbe to the peninsula of the Eider were supposed to form the base of an equilateral triangle, Heiligland would be nearly at the vertex. In the middle of the sea an abrupt projection of lofty rocks rises awfully from the bosom of the waves, and, strong with the inassailable fortifications of nature, it presents one entrance only to the friendly navigator. Viewed distinctly, two divisions of the stony mass are remarked; one, the highland surnamed Klif, coloured by its red strata of earth, which is every year disclosing more and more of its solid base to the invading waters, seemed once like a mighty wall erected to coerce the ocean. It ascends towards the sky with an elevation of 46 German ells.

A scanty covering of rich clayey mould, from two feet and an half to four in depth, produces some species of corn, which once excelled the harvests of the Eiderstadt, and a few vegetables, but not sufficient for the demands of its small population; no trees provide their grateful shade and agreeable prospect; their absence is compensated by the happy want of all noxious reptiles. The domesticated animals of our food
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and labour equalled the best produce of Friesland; they are now reduced to about 60 cattle, and as many sheep: the sudden steep occasion their wanderings to be restricted. This spot was formerly famous for the capture of herrings; it is still abundant in fish.

The other part, the Duhnen or Downs, is sandy, with a small part of rocky ground, on which stands a fourth of the dwellings of the inhabitants, with the apparatus of their fishery. One hundred and eighty steps compose the descent from the Klif. The red portion detains the waters of the sky when they fall. The Duhnen was formerly full of the sweetest fountains, but at present the water of its two springs serve only the cattle and common uses. It affords no pasturage, but it admits the vegetation of hemp, and shelters the harmless colonies of the rabbit. A mole secures it from the sea, and a channel deep enough for moderate vessels, and about three quarters of a mile broad, has, since 1728, separated the Duhnen from the Klif.

In the autumnal season, it is visited by innumerable successions of winged emigrants⁵², who

⁵² The officer, whose account Pontanus has preserved, particularizes the sea-birds, cranes, swans, ducks, larks, and thrushes, among those which perform this autumnal journey, p. 739.

hope to find on a rock so secluse a safe asylum and more congenial atmosphere; but its promises are deceitful, for man occupies it, and the pleasure of the monarch of creation demands a lavish sacrifice of animal life; yet moralists admit, that the quantity of general happiness is in all probability augmented in that system, which commands one being to become the food of another. To censure the established order of nature is to put our wisdom in absurd competition with omniscient benevolence.

Its inhabitants imbibe health and vigour from its salubrious sky. They are indefatigable in their occupations, which are generally those of the fisherman and the pilot. Perpetually at sea, like their Saxon ancestors, they disregard the terrors of the ocean, and delight to display their intrepidity when the agitated waters intimidate others. Frugal in their domestic œconomy, the harvest of their nets, and the friendly corn of the poor husbandman of the north, compose the food which contents them. Their agriculture is too simple to boast of those instruments, which diminish the labour without, perhaps, impairing the supply. The horse is wanting. They have not even the universal plough; the nature of the country may proscribe it. The fair sex are the farmers

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farmers of the island; they condescend, or submit, to dig the land, sow, harrow, and reap, and even patiently thresh, and with handmills grind what their industry has obtained: but it seems not to be brutality of disposition, but the imperious necessities of situation, which impose such revolting toil upon the weaker sex. The men, in equal but in varied difficulties, employ their activity, and add the bounty of Neptune to the gifts of their Ceres⁵³.

A numerous population is not compatible with a life of such hazard and labour. The families who inhabit the rocks are few; the aggressions of the waves concur to prevent a multiplication. In ancient times, the extent of soil capable of cultivation was much larger than the small portion which at present is visible. Though sacred in the estimation of man, the elements have not respected it. In the year 300, a furious tempest

⁵³ The island contained many curious minerals, some petrefactions of silberts and waxen tapers, and an ore of gold, which was sent to the dukes of Holstein, and in the processes of smelting yielded so much sulphur as to discharge the expence of obtaining the pure gold. Pontanus, 739. This is singular, as gold is seldom found united with sulphur, though auriferous pyrites have been met with in Peru, Siberia, Sweden, and Hungary. 2 Schneisser, Mineralogy, 23. 2 Chaptal. Chem. 441. Among the substances indurated by the afflux of calcareous matter, we read of human hands. Pont. 739.

from the north-west occasioned the greater portion to be swallowed up by the waves. In 1300 and 1500 it suffered materially from the same cause; but the inundation of 1649 was so destructive, that but a small part of the island survived it. If another attack should wash away the sandy downs, scarce one-sixth of the present population could subsist.

Surrounded by nations highly civilized, this island exists for the benefit of all who navigate the Elbe. This commercial river, from its dangerous coast, could not be entered without it. A sea-mark by day, a light-house by night, it points out the path of safety to the anxious mariner, and abounds with skilful pilots, who possess the local knowledge which he needs. They conduct vessels to the Elbe, the Weser, the Eider, or the Hever. But though now so useful to the navigator, it was in distant times his most fatal terror. Its capacious port, which opens to the south, will contain above an hundred vessels of burthen within its sheltering arms, and defends them from the north and west. So safe an harbour, a situation so contiguous to many marts of wealth and industry, invited the adventurers of promiscuous piracy. From the age of the Saxons almost to our own it was thronged

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with maritime depredators ⁵⁴. The writers of every period annex this dismal feature to its description; and though we must condemn with delicacy the national employment of our forefathers, we may rejoice that the energies of their posterity have been directed to colonize, not to ravage; to explore with insatiable ardour the boundless fields of science and commercial industry, not to watch like the sanguinary tyger for its unsuspecting victim, and prosper by human misery.

It is a subject of geographical contest, whether it be the Actania of Pliny and the island of the Castum Nemus of Tacitus ⁵⁵.

Their continental territory.

The territory which the original Saxons occupied on the continent, was situated on the western side of the Cimbric peninsula, between

⁵⁴ It has been often the seat of a royal residence. Radbodus, king of Frisia, had his last sovereignty upon it. The Sea-kings also frequented it. But this island has been often confounded with Helgoland, a populous district of Norway. Pontan. 739. This Helgoland is mentioned in Ohther's voyage, Alfred's Orosius, 24; and in Sir H. Willoughby's voyage, Hackluyt, p. 268. The kings of Helgoland, mentioned in the Norwegian Chronicle, were kings of this province. Pont.

⁵⁵ See Pontanus, 665, 737.—Cluverius gives Heiligland as Actania, and Rugen from its wood and lake, as the island designated by Tacitus, Ant. Germ. 107, 97.—Heiligland has no woods. Pontanus, while he hints the pretensions of Zealand, seems to prefer Heiligland, because it is near the Elbe, and is a translation of castum nemus.

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the Elbe and the Eyder. This latter river is the boundary of Denmark, and has always been understood to denote the termination of the German states⁵⁶. It rises from a district which was anciently a vast forest; and from Borsholm, passing Rensberg and Kiel, it continues its course into the British ocean below Eiderstadt.

The region between the Eyder and the Elbe was denominated Nordalbingia, and its inhabitants Nordalbingi, in the earliest records we possess of these parts⁵⁷. North of the Eyder extended Sleswick, in South Jutland, and beyond that the district of North Jutland was continued into Wendila, and ended in Skawen, from which in a clear atmosphere the rocks of Scandinavia are visible.

Three districts, in ancient times, divided this country of Nordalbingia or Eald Saexen⁵⁸. These unequal portions which have preserved their nominal distinctions to recent times, are Ditmarsia, Stormaria, and Holsatia. The progress of the

⁵⁶ Saxo Gram. Preface, p. 2. Svaningius, in Steph. Comm. in Sax. p. 16.

⁵⁷ Ad. Brem. p. 63.—The Privilegia, Eccl. Hammb. 146, 147.—Helmoldus Chron. Slav. 40.—Some name the people Transalbinii.

⁵⁸ So Alfred in his Orosius, p. 20, 21; and his kinsman Ethelwerd, 833, entitle this region. The three divisions exist in Ad. Brem. 22.—Helmoldus Slav. 40. Subsequent geographers acknowledge it.

Slavi occasioned a fourth division in the province of Wagria.

Ditmarfia ⁵⁹ is separated on the north from Sleswick by the Eyder, and from Stormaria on the south by the Stoer. It fronts the isles of Heiligland and Busen, and extends in length thirty-seven miles, and in breadth twenty-three. Its general aspect is a soil low and marshy, and strong mounds are necessary to keep the ocean to its natural limits. The land on the coast is favourable to corn and cattle, but the interior is composed of sterile sands or marshes, not subjected by human skill to the genius of cultivation. Its inhabitants, like those of all unfruitful regions, have been tenacious of the right of enjoying their poverty in independance, and the nature of the country favoured their military exertions. Their habits of warfare and scanty livelihood produced a harshness of disposition, which often amounted to ferocity ⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Thiat-mares-gaho in S. Anscharius, who lived in 840, and in whose work the name is first met with. 1 Langb. Script. 347. Thiatmaresca, in a diploma of 1059, ib. and Thiatmarfgoi, in Ad. Brem. 22.—Teutomarfia, Chryteus Proem.—Also Dythmersi, Dythmerschi.—Suhm has investigated the etymology in his Nordfolk. Oprin. 263.—Langb.

⁶⁰ Pontanus, ch. 667.—Cilicius Belli Dithmars. 427. annexed to Krantz.—Their banner was an armed soldier on a white horse.

Below Dithmarfia, and reaching to the Elbe, was Stormaria⁶¹. The Stoer, which named the province, confined it on the north. The Suala, Trave, and Billa, determined the rest of its extent. It is almost one slimy marsh, and it needs the perpetual defences of art against that element, whose moderate presence fertilizes, but whose excess is destruction. The wet and low situation of Stormaria and Dithmarfia exactly correspond with the Roman account of the Saxons living in inaccessible marshes⁶². The Stoer is friendly to navigation and fishing. Stormaria is somewhat quadrangular, and its sides may be estimated at 33 miles⁶³.

Divided from Sleswick by the Levesou on the north, bounded by Wagria on the east, and by the Trave on the south, Holfatia⁶⁴ stretches its

⁶¹ Ad. Brem. p. 22. derives the name from Storm, a metaphor expressive of the seditions of the inhabitants; but Stoer, the river, and Marfi, the residents in marshes, seem to compose a juster etymology. Chryteus Sax. 66.—Pont. 664.

⁶² Saxones, gentem in oceani littoribus et paludibus inviis sitam. Orosius, 7. 32.

⁶³ Pontanus, 666.—Ad. Brem. 22. distinguishes the Sturmarii with the epithet, nobiliores. Their banner was a white swan with a golden collar. Hammaburg (Hamburg) was their metropolis, which before the eleventh century had been *viris et armis potens*; but in Adam's time, was in *solitudinem redacta*. Ib.

⁶⁴ Holfatia was 42 miles from Wilster to Kiel, and about 33 from Hanrahuw to New Munster. Pontan. 665.

numerous woods to Ditmarsia. The local appellation of the region thus confined has been, by a sort of geographical catachresis, applied to denominate all that country which is contained within the Eyder, the Elbe, and the Trave.

In the age approaching the period of the continental residence of our ancestors, the Holtzati were nominally as well as territorially distinguished from the other states which we have considered ⁶⁵. Their country received from the bounty of nature one peculiar characteristic.

As the western and southern coasts of Eald Saexen were repetitions of quagmires, the loftier Holfatia continually impeded and amused the traveller by successions of crowded forests in vigorous vegetation, relieved by numerous intervals of plains, on which the plough could exert its productive powers, and from which a vulgar agriculture might obtain a competent harvest.

⁶⁵ Their etymology has been variously stated; 1st. 'from the woods they inhabited; Holt, a wood; saten, to be seated. Ad. Brem. and Pontan.—2. From their country having been called Olt Saxen, Old Saxony. Shering, De Gent. Angl. 28. It certainly was so named by Ravenna, Geog. l. 5. f. 31. Bede, l. 1. c. 15. and l. 5. c. 11. Chron. Sax. p. 13. Gregory, Ep. Bib. Mag. v. 16. p. 101. Boniface, ib. p. 55. both lived in the 7th century. Nennius, 3 Gale. Script. Angl. 115.—3. See another derivation in Verstegan, 91. Eginhard, in the ninth century, names it Holdun-stetch. The derivation of Adam of Bremen has prevailed.

Strength and courage were qualities which grew up with the Holfatian in common with his neighbours; he has been proverbial for his fidelity; his generosity has been also extolled; but an ancient writer diminishes the value of this rare virtue, by the companions which he associates to it. "They are emulous in hospitality, because to plunder and to lavish is the glory of an Holfatian; not to be versed in the science of depredation is, in his opinion, to be stupid and base."

Of Wagria it need only be mentioned, that it extended from the Trave to the Baltic, and was occupied by a branch of the Slavi, who were ultimately driven out by the Saxons.

"Helmoldus, Chron. Slav. 40. He adds, that the three people of Nordalbingia differed little either in dress or language. They had the jura Saxonum.

CHAP. III.

*Circumstances favourable to the Increase of the Saxon Power.*BOOK
I.

ABOVE a century elapsed after Ptolemy, before the Saxons were mentioned again by any author who has survived to us. Eutropius is the second writer who noticed them. In accounting for the rebellion of Carausius, and his assumption of the purple, he states the Saxons to have united with the Franks, and to have become formidable for their piratical enterprizes. Before the few historical fragments concerning our ancestors, which exist in the classical authors, are collected, it may be proper to consider three circumstances which had occurred in the interval, and to each of which some part of the Saxon prosperity may be reasonably ascribed. These were, the repulse of the Romans from the Elbe to the Rhine; the rise of the Franks; and the application of the Saxons to maritime expeditions.

Progress of
the Romans
to the Elbe.

It was in the reign of Augustus, that the wasteful passion of ambition prompted Drusus, his

his son-in-law, to complete the design of Cæsar, and attempt the conquest of Germany. The blood of the natives of the Rhine and Ems was poured out in profusion by the unappalled Romans; misery and death stalked forwards to the Elbe; but before the Roman eagle could be carried over the river, the conqueror received, from natural causes, the fate which he was mercilessly dealing to others. Tiberius succeeded to the station, though not to the abilities of Drusus, and at length passing the Weser, waved the imperial standards over the Elbe. His fleet triumphantly sailed up the river; he contemplated the collected warriors who lined its northern bank, but hazarded no attack⁶⁷.

The successes of Maroboduus summoned Tiberius to the Danube, and whilst he was there conflicting with the Marcomanni and their allies, the avarice of Quintilius Varus provoked the Germans of the Rhine to rebel. Arminius stood forward as the champion of Germany, and the Roman general and his army were destroyed. This misfortune struck Rome with consternation, and the horrors of a Cimbric invasion were anticipated; but Arminius was contented

⁶⁷ Dion Cassius, p. 622—628, and the authors in Mascon's learned history of the Germans, i. p. 78—85.

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to have merited the title of the deliverer of his country⁶⁸. He projected no mad schemes of offensive conquest or of vengeful devastation. He restored to his countrymen the possession of their native soil up to the Rhine; and when Tiberius hastened to relieve the capitol from its dismay, the imperial general could gain no decisive laurels from the cautious patriot⁶⁹.

It was reserved for Germanicus to renew the victories of his father, and to endanger the independence of the continent. After suppressing a dangerous mutiny of four legions, he ruined the

⁶⁸ Tacitus gives him this title, *Ann.* l. 2. c. 88. Kenler calls him the leader of the Saxons. 1 Schard. H. G. 501. but he was of the Cherusci. *Spen. Not.* 297. His character in *Paterculus* is interesting; "*Juvenis genere nobilis, manu fortis, sensu celer, ultra promptus ingenio, ardorem animi vultu oculisque preferens.*" He had served in the Roman armies, and obtained the equestrian dignity. The pen of Tacitus has completed his fame. For the disaster of Varus, see *Dion Cass.* 667. *Paterc.* ii. c. 117. and *Tac. Ann.* l. 1.

⁶⁹ There is a history of Arminius by Kenler, 1 Schard. p. 501—518. In the dialogue on his military merit by Hutt, *ib.* 426, the German prince says to Hannibal, "*Nam eorum qui res preclaras gesserunt, nemo majoribus difficultatibus enisus, aut gravioribus circa impedimentis eluctatus est.—In summa rerum aut hominum inopia, misera egestate, desertus ab omnibus, impeditus undique, tamen ad recuperandam libertatem, viam mihi communivi; citraque omnem extra opem, omne adjumentum, hoc solo præditus et suffultus animo, a meipso rerum initia petivi et bellum extremè periculosum, non antea cceptum sed ab omnibus desperatum prosequutus sum.*" He details his exertions, and contrasts them with the exploits of Scipio and Alexander,

Marfi,

Marſi beyond the Rhine by a night attack, and exerted one of the moſt direful prerogatives inhumanly arrogated by war; for he deſolated the country to an extent of fifty miles. It is to be regretted that youthful genius ſhould employ its energies in augmenting the calamities of mankind; but the conqueſt of the world was the delirious project of Rome, and the myriads of victims which it yearly ſacrificed raiſed not one feeling of ſympathy among the citizens of the Tibur; a ſurname from a new country ſubdued, outbalanced all the tears of humanity, and the clamours of violated right. The juſtice of aſſaulting the world, in order to gain fame and plunder, was never queſtioned, but the trade of ambition was vehemently purſued through the fearful road of war, though Greece had taught the Romans to philoſophiſe on morality, and orators, to deſtroy an obnoxious governor, could ſometimes declaim as if they had felt themſelves the advocates of mankind.

After ſurpriſing the Catti, and experienc- ing ſome perils, Germanicus failed up the Ems, and marched his army to the Weſer. At this juncture Arminius⁷⁰ was not wanting to his countrymen;

⁷⁰ Mr. Tercier believes that the famous Irmenſul was un monument élevé en honneur d'Arminius, whoſe heroic actions the Germans

men; but the superior knowledge of his competitor, and the discipline of the invading troops, advanced rapidly to annihilate the rude liberty of Germany. Its bravest tribes fell fruitlessly in its defence; the survivors trembled for the awful issue, when the jealous policy of Tiberius, who had succeeded to the empire, rescued them from absolute conquest.

Tiberius called back Germanicus from the swelling tide of victory, although he asked but one year more to extend the Roman empire to the Elbe⁷¹. Had his prayer been granted, the Saxons might have glided off the page of history for ever; but this people was not destined to be entombed by the ambition of lawless conquerors. The Saxons have survived the fall of the capitol, and have equalled the glory of its masters in pursuits of nobler merit. The recal of Germanicus ended the progress of the Romans; they retreated gradually towards the south, though not with perpetual retrogression: sometimes the interior of the country felt their presence, and sometimes rejoiced in their absence;

Germans long celebrated in their songs; he also thinks that Arminius n'est point le nom propre de ce général, mais son nom appellatif. Arminius étoit herman ou général de la confédération. Mem. Ac. Insc. 41. p. 333.

⁷¹ Mascou, 99—117. Tacit. Ann. l. 1. and l. 2.

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but at length the Rhine, near the modern Leyden, separated the Romans and their allies from the free nations of the north ⁷²; it was not, indeed, an impassable boundary, but the Romans generally kept within it, and thus the nations beyond, and more especially the Saxons, who were among the most remote, had full leisure to increase their population, and to improve the propitious circumstances which attended their peculiar situation.

But this auspicious calm the savage Maximin at last disturbed. After the assassination of Alexander Severus, the ferocious Thracian assumed the contaminated purple, and announced his accession to the north of Germany in a series of victorious slaughter and unrelenting devastation. So irresistible was the tempest, that unless (says the historian) the Germans had escaped by their rivers, marshes, and woods, he would have reduced all Germany into subjection. His furious valour once betrayed him into a situa-

Rise of the
Franks,
A. D. 235
—240.

⁷² Bebelius too eagerly denies that any part of Germany beyond the Rhine was conquered, though the emperors arrogated the surname Germanicus. *Orat. vet. Ger.* 1 Schard. 257. Mascon fairly states the fact, i. p. 131.—The *Tabula Peutinger*. (on which some excellent remarks of Mr. Freret are in *Mem.* vii. p. 292) confirms this boundary. The *Tabula* is in the maps of Hornii *Geog.* Amst. 1677.

tion of so much danger in a marsh, that he was saved with difficulty, while his horse was drowning. His haughty letters to the senate display the exultation and the ferocity of his mind. "We cannot relate to you how much we have done. For the space of 400 miles we have burnt the German towns, we have brought away their flocks, enslaved their inhabitants, and slain the armed. We should have assailed their woods, if the depths of the marshes had permitted us to pass ⁷³."

This destructive invasion, like many other evils, generated by the magnitude of the necessity a proportionate benefit. By a conjecture more probable in itself, and more consistent with contemporaneous facts than any other which has been mentioned, a modern writer has very happily ascribed to it the formation of that important confederation, which, under the name of Franks, withstood the Roman arms, and preserved the liberties of Germany ⁷⁴.

Origin of
the Franks.

Upon the origin of the Franks, as upon every

⁷³ Jul. Capitol. Maxim. c. 12. Herodian, l. 7. p. 146. ed. Steph. The history of Maximin is related by Mr. Gibbon with elegance and accuracy, i. p. 173—190. 4to.

⁷⁴ Spener's Notit. Germ. l. 4. p. 338. "Non valde vereor adfirmare, Maximini crudelem in Germaniam incursionem foedus inferioris Rheni accolis Germanis fuisse."

similar subject of antiquity, the historical artists have amused themselves with painting many gaudy but contradictory scenes. Some have participated in the folly of the world, and eager to enjoy an ancestry which the Mæonian and Mantuan muses have conspired to adorn, have claimed a descent from the warriors of Troy. In defence of Ilium it is said that the Franks checked the fury of Achilles; and when the craft of the king of Ithaca had made bravery useless, they quitted their burning country in search of safer shores. As Homer has unfortunately killed Hector, they could not conscientiously assert him to have led their exiled bands; but no such unwelcome evidence existed to forbid the right of increasing the progeny of Andromache; hence Francus, the son of Hector, was created on purpose to conduct the emigrants to the Seine⁷⁵, while Æneas landed with a kindred train in the neighbourhood of the Tyber. But the human intellect impatiently demands the liberal exercise of the imprescriptible right of free

⁷⁵ The fictitious supplement of Manetho was made to state, that after the eighth year from the fall of Troy, "Francus Celtis imperat ex Hectoris filiis." Berosi Sacerd. Chal. p. 233. Vincentius, diligentissimus historię scriptor, declares; that Francus sailed into France, became dear to the Celts, married the king's daughter, and succeeded him in Gaul. Schilt. Glof. 318.

though

though fantastic exertion. To be restricted to one opinion, whether it be falsehood or whether it be truth, is as odious and as slavish as to be corporally imprisoned. We shall not, therefore, wonder to read that Francus, though a son of Hector, has been cashiered by some, that Francion might govern, or that for these were deposed Friga, Priam, and Antenor⁷⁶. A direct course from Troy to Gaul has not pleased every one, because a little history was in the way, and therefore part of the Trojan Franks was dispatched to Macedon to achieve the victories of Alexander, and the remainder was conveyed to the Danube; these journeyed to the sea of Azoph, and remained there, till, ardent for novelty, they at last roamed to Pannonia, and in due course of time monopolized the Rhine⁷⁷. If we doubt this genealogy, it is proper that we should recollect that Francic Offians attest the fact, that

⁷⁶ See *Gesta Reg. Franc.* 57—93. and *Aimoinus*, 254. an author of the ninth century. These works are with Gregory of Tours, in *Corpus Francicæ Historiæ vet.* Hanov. 1613.

⁷⁷ Trithemius quotes the ancient Hunnibald with great commendations for the Trojan story. *Comp.* l. i. p. 2.—Of the works of Hunnibald it is believed that they never existed in any other form than that which we see in Trithemius—"quem fictum eruditi hodie plerique omnes reputant." *Schilt. Glos. Teut.* 318. Mankind cannot fasten too much ignominy on these literary impostors.

most industrious historians believe it, and that the name of Anchises was continued to a distant descendant in memorial of the ancestry⁷⁸.

But as to some optics grass is not green but red, ale not brown but green, and crimson, claret, and mud are very nearly alike⁷⁹, so many persons contemplate historical incidents with a whimsical singularity of perception and belief. In the ninth century it was a tradition, that the Franks were the children of the Danes⁸⁰; and even an ancient

⁷⁸ Jo. Dillen vouches for the *rhythmos veteres Francorum lingua annotatos*, which he says he saw. That Anchis, son of Arnulph, was so called, *de nomine Anchisæ quondam Trojani*, Paul. Warnef. and Aventinus declare. Schelt. *Glos. Teut.* 318, 319. This Trojan descent was long a favourite dream; and by Sigebert, Otto Frisi. Conrad Abb. Usperg. and several more recent authors, the whole history is detailed.

⁷⁹ "I take my standard idea (of green) from grass; this appears to me very little different from red; the face of a laurel leaf is a good match to a stick of red sealing wax, and the back of the leaf answers to the lighter red of wafers. A decoction of bohea tea, ale, &c. which others call brown, appear to me green. Green woollen cloth to me resembles a red soil just turned up by the plough. I have seen specimens of crimson, claret, and mud, which were very nearly alike." Mr. John Dalton's extraordinary facts relating to the vision of colours. *Mem. of the Lit. Soc. at Manchester*, vol. v. part 1.

⁸⁰ *Nigellus de Baptismo Haraldi, i Langb. Scrip. Dan.* 400.

Hi populi porro veteri cognomine Deni, &c.

Unde genus Francis adfore fama refert.

This author wrote about 827. Hrabanus Maurus, nearly his contemporary, says, *qui Theodiscam linguam loquuntur a Nordmannis originem trahere.* *Ib.*

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geographer

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geographer approximates their country to the Elbe⁸¹. That they were Sicambri⁸² at least, if not Trojans, has been asserted; and whence could they have proceeded so well as from Franconia⁸³? To suit the humour of those who think no country worthy to have produced Franks, but that which their modern offspring inhabit, writers have maintained, that they lived originally in Gaul, but, for the sake of freedom or of food, voluntarily quitted it about the time of Cæsar, to return again a few ages afterwards⁸⁴.

Others have had a discernment keen enough to find Franks ambushing in Cicero's epistolary

⁸¹ An. Ravenna, l. i. c. 11. Yet I think it may be questioned, whether he alludes to their original station or subsequent position. Eumenius, in his panegyric ad Constantinum, gives them a distant derivation, which will apply to Denmark, the Mæotis, Thule, or any northern part. "Franciæ nationes non jam ab his locis, qui olim "Romani invaserunt, sed a propriis ex origine suis sedibus, atque "ab ultimis barbariæ litoribus avulsus," &c.

⁸² Munster, 1 Schard. 476. See Bebelius, ib. 280, on the derivation of the Franks.

⁸³ See Krantz Sax. l. ii. p. 29.—Emilius Hist. Franc. p. 1. But that Franconia and Frankfort received the name from them in the end of the fifth century, after Clovis had subdued the Alemanni in these parts, see Mascou, ii. p. 16.

⁸⁴ Gosselin, Hist. vet. Gall. c. 5. p. 25. strenuously asserts, that the Franks were neither Germans, Sicambri, Suevi, nor Scythæ, but sprang from the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, p. 18, who had sent colonies beyond the Rhine to avoid a famine. Others attribute their flight to the dread of Cæsar. Moreri voc. Franks.

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51

CHAP.
III.

correspondence with Atticus⁸⁵; and another, through an imaginary telescope of Strabo, has beheld them starving on the Noric Alps⁸⁶.

One learned critic has laboured to outdo his competitors, by the distance of his search and the peculiar evidence of his discovery; after roaming the world in quest of his Proserpine, his fancy perceived her half-shrouded with mist among the lakes of Scandinavia. In vain the dubious medium hinted a possible deception, in vain counselled him to repress the throbs of too eager expectation; determined to possess the prize which other adventurers had coveted in vain, he boldly averred, that the inhabitants of Mount Sevo were the Francs; and that Ptolemy, who has presumed to place the Phirassi in this region in their stead, has been guilty of an error, which the glorious destiny of this author reserved for him to detect⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Molineus de Orig. et Prog. Mon. Frant. urges the passage in Cic. l. 14. ad Att. 10. which Rhenanus corrects into Vangiones, and Pontanus still better amends into Fangones, qui sunt Punicæ propiæ. Schilt. Gloss 316.

⁸⁶ Strabo's Βρετανναι Τεταλυνναι, lib. iv. whom he places near the Noric Alps, legendum Βρετανναι Τεταλυνναι. Schilt. ib.

⁸⁷ Turnebus found the Phirassi placed in Scandinavia by Ptolemy, and affirms, "Phirassi male ex Ptolomæo appellantur. Alii profecto quam Franci non sunt." Moreri Dict. voc. Francs.—Long before Turnebus, the ancient ecclesiastic Freculphus, on the declaration of others, deduced them de Scanzia insula. Chron. Mag. Bibl. Patr. v. 16. p. 143. though he prefers the Trojan Francion.

HISTORY OF THE

To wed incongruities is the duty of wit, and men are sometimes humourists without intending to be so: a witty author of this involuntary species has informed us, that the French and Turks are brethren by descent⁸⁸; that the Turks have claimed this consanguinity, and, with a liberality natural to the enlarged mind of a muffleman, have declared, that none ought to be chevaliers but the French and Turks⁸⁹.

Derivation
of the
name.

If the antiquary has a right to diversify his conjectures, the etymologist may fairly demand the same privilege; because, to chain his fancy would be to annihilate his existence, which is a barbarity that no individual can justify towards another. It was, therefore, in a laudable exertion of intellectual independance, that if one preferred Francos, which in the Attic, or in some

⁸⁸ The *Gesta Franc.* 57. 93. and *Aimoinus*, 255. and *Rigordus*, 173. divide the Franks who fled from Troy to the Danube into two parts, of which one produced the natio Torgorum or Turchi. *Raoul des Presles* gives more detail. *Francion* son of *Hector*, *Turcus* son of *Troilus*, and *Helenus* their uncle, fled after the fall of Troy to other countries. Of these travellers *Turcus* went into *Scythia*, and became the progenitor of the Turks. *Mem. Ac. Insc.* xx. p. 478.

⁸⁹ *Balderic*, bishop of *Dol*, acts as interpreter or sponsor for the Turks. In his second book he says, "Turci jactitant se de Francorum stirpe duxisse genealogiam eorum que pro-attavos a christianitate descisse—dicunt etiam nullos naturaliter debere militare nisi se et Francos." *Lancelot Mem. Ac. Insc.* xx. p. 480.

Attuatic

Attuatic dialect, means fierce or noble⁹⁰, another looked more kindly on φρακτος, fortified⁹¹; that some should derive the name from the son of Hector, or from Francion⁹², and that others should like better a less obvious origin; in a word, that wranghe, rugged; φερεγχον, spear-bearers; or freinhans, free heroes; or fri-anfi and fri-ancken, free servants⁹³, should each boast a champion sturdy enough to assert a superior claim in defiance of the rest, are circumstances very analogous to human experience, and as dignified as many other prolusions of our omnipotent mind.

But the derivation which the moderns have most favoured is from the word franc⁹⁴, which in all the German languages is expressive of a free-man⁹⁵.

That

⁹⁰ Aimoinus 255, and many others.

⁹¹ —adpellationem ab ipsis rebus gestis nacti dicantur Franci tanquam Vallati Septique; a multis autem vocentur Franci, corrupti nempe ex errore plurium vocabulo.—Libanius the Sophist. Spener. Not. 335.

⁹² Raoul des Presses, of whom see a curious memoir by Mr. Lancelot, Ac. Insc. xx. p. 478, gives to Francion 22,000 men. He passes the Rhine, and builds Lutetium, 830 years before Christ. He proceeds to mention, that this city was afterwards named Paris, in honour of Hector's brother, or because Παρρησια signifies intrepidity.

⁹³ Spener recites these, 336.

⁹⁴ Spener 336.

⁹⁵ Turpin, the father of romance, mentions this etymology, c. 31. with a tale, in which he foolishly endeavours, from a pretended incident of the eighth century, to account for a name which had ex-

HISTORY OF THE

That the French should disclaim their German origin has given great offence to many learned men, who have invited them to recollect, that it was no disgrace to have sprung from warriors, who ultimately subdued the victorious genius of Rome⁹⁶. But whatever passions may have misled former writers to look any where rather than over the Rhine for their parents, it has become the candid and unanimous opinion of the literati of France, that the Franks were Germans. Mr. Gibert has annexed to this admission a derivation of his countrymen, which proves that the power of imagination may exist as strongly in a dull antiquarian dissertation as in an interesting romance. In the reign of Augustus, Maroboduus led the Marcomanni into Bohemia, and it has happened that some of the French kings were called Merovingiens. Now Maroboduus, stripped of its Latin termination, would, perhaps, in German be Mer-wue, and Merovingiens in Latin become Mur-wungii. Is

isted since the third. One of his passages is a vain phrenzy, which his countrymen of this century endeavour to realize, in despite of the common sense and common interests of all Europe: "Therefore the Franc is called free, because glory and domination over all other nations are due to him." *Rer. Germ. Quatuor*, p. 12, second side.

⁹⁶ Krantz. Saxon, 29. 1 Mascou, p. 196.

not this a proof that the Franks and the Marcomanni were the same people ⁹⁷

The most intelligent historians of the present age has remarked with truth, that the most rational critics suppose, that about the year 240 a new confederation was formed, under the name of Franks, by the old inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and Weser ⁹⁸. As the incursion of Maximin took place about the year 235, the additional supposition of Spener is very happy, that this confederation arose from a general desire of security and revenge.

Their true
origin.

The horizon of Rome was at this juncture darkening; civil wars were consuming the strength of the empire, and its Germanic enemies, who had many losses of liberty, life, and property, to avenge, were learning the dangerous secret of the benefit of union. The Alemanni ⁹⁹ had

⁹⁷ Mem. Ac. Insc. xxxiii. p. 103. In the subsequent memoir Mr. Freret destroys the supposition.—Vertot. ib. iii. p. 299. fairly says what all nations may repeat: "On sait que notre histoire ancienne est un chaos rempli de ténèbres, et où l'on a placé bien des chimères impunément."

⁹⁸ 1 Gibbon, 259.—Foncemagne Mem. Ac. xv. p. 268. Freret Hist. Ac. Insc. ix. p. 88. and Mem. xxxiii. p. 134. unite in the opinion.—Mascou, who dislikes it, p. 196. evidently, has not weighed all the circumstances.

⁹⁹ For the nations who assumed this name, see Spener, 175, 179.—The British bard, Taliessin, calls the Germans by this name: "The crimson gore on the cheeks of the Allmyn." Owen's Dict. voc. Clas.

Their use
to the
Saxons.

alarmed Marcus Aurelius with its first exhibition. The advantage of this confederation generated others, until the Roman empire was overwhelmed by the accumulating torrent, and her western provinces were parcelled out among those war-like spoilers, whose improved posterity now govern Europe.

This sagacious union of strength in a common cause was consecrated on the Rhine by the general name of Franks, in which the peculiar denominations of the tribes were absorbed¹⁰⁰. Their valour atchieved its end; and as a patriotism serviceable to mankind at that time inspired them, we may hail their career with just acclamations. Some vices, however, intermixed with their bravery, which alloy their fame with a debasing barbarism¹⁰¹; but their existence and general conduct was peculiarly useful to the Saxon nation. The safety and success of our

¹⁰⁰ The states, who united in the league, are particularised by Spener, p. 341, and by Chrytæus, Sax. Proem.

¹⁰¹ Besides their habit of piracy: "Francis familiare est ridendo fidem frangere." Vopiscus Proc. c. xiii. p. 237. Ed. Bip, "Gens Francorum infidelis est. Si perjeret Francus quid novi faciet, qui perjurium ipsum sermonis genus putat esse non criminis." Salvian de Gub. Dei, l. 4. p. 82. Mag. Bib. Pat. 5.—Again, l. 7. p. 116. "Franci mendaces, sed hospitales."—This union of laughter and crime, of deceit and politeness, has not been entirely unknown to France in many periods since the fifth century.

ancestors

ancestors may have flowed from this timely confederation. The Saxon exploits on the ocean inflicted such wounds on the Roman colonies and commerce, that a peculiar fleet was appointed to counteract them, and every historian mentions them with dread and hatred. It does not seem visionary to state, that it would have certainly been one of the first employments of the Roman indignation to have exterminated them by an expedition like those of Drusus, Germanicus, and Maximin, if the confederation of the Franks had not interposed an impregnable barrier, and kept the imperial armies employed on the south banks of the Rhine ¹⁰².

¹⁰² Pontanus Origin. Franc. is a valuable work.—Spener 333—360. and his 2 vol. 421—429. and Schilter's Glossary, 316—322. furnish great information on this people.

C H A P. IV.

The Application of the Saxons to maritime Expeditions.

BOOK
I.

THE situation of the Saxons on the sea-coast of that part of Europe, which was in the neighbourhood of some fertile provinces of the Roman empire, and yet remote enough to elude their vengeful pursuit, and the possession of an island, with an harbour so ample and yet so guarded against hostile assaults, were circumstances propitious to a system of piracy,

But such a current of action is not hastily chosen by savage warriors ; it had been familiar to ancient Greece, but it was as yet unknown to the wild nations of the north. The sea is naturally a scene of terror to barbarians. Distant voyages are fatal to them from their ignorance, and still more formidable from their superstitions. The Saxons might have lived amid their rocks and marshes, conflicting with their neighbours, till they had mouldered away in the vicissitudes in which so many tribes perished, if
one

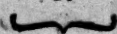
one grand incident had not expanded to their love of plunder, or of battle, a new theatre, on which it might be gratified, and an inspiring example, in which the first adventurers were brilliantly successful.

This impulsive event, which tinged with new and lasting colours the destiny of Europe, by determining the Saxons to piratical enterprizes, was the daring achievements of the Franks, whom Probus had transported to the Pontus. To break the strength of the barbaric myriads, who were every year assailing the Roman state with increasing momentum, this emperor had recourse to the customary policy of settling colonies of their warriors in places very distant from the region of their nativity.

Among others, a numerous collection of Franks was stationed on the Euxine. To love the scenes of our childhood, wherein we have received the endearments of those by whom we have been beloved; to repine in our absence from the spots where our most pleasing associations have been formed; and to be attached even to the cottages of penury and the marshes of distemper, if the companions of our sports, or the friends of our maturity inhabit them, is natural to man. What is affluence or luxury, if those

we

Voyage of
the Franks
from the
Euxine.



we revere, or those we most passionately esteem, are unable to partake ! The gold of India glitters like unvalued sand, the most exquisite paradise is a loathsome prison, if the sympathy of our feelings point towards other regions¹⁰³. The magic of sensibility sometimes commands the uncivilized bosom as powerfully as the most refined, in those endearing relations which flow from the connubial and parental ties. Hence the Franks on the Euxine sighed for the dreary wilds of their nativity, because in them they first knew the tumult of love, the fondness of maternal care, the manly exhortations of paternal tuition, and the eager emulations of juvenile friendship. Anxious to enjoy once more these sweetest blessings of life, or to behold the places consecrated by their experience, the exiled Franks seized the earliest opportunity of abandoning their appointed settlement ; they possessed themselves of many ships, and formed the astonishing plan of sailing back to the Rhine. Who were their pilots, or how they conceived, in their untutored minds, the possibility of a project so intricate, and for such barbarians so sublime, has not been revealed to us. Its novelty and mag-

¹⁰³ Some of the German chiefs, whom Augustus forced from their country, killed themselves. 1 Maseou, 85.

nanimity ensured its success. They ravaged Asia and Greece; for not safety merely, but revenge and plunder were also their objects: landing in Sicily, they attacked and ravaged Syracuse with great slaughter. They carried their triumphant hostility to several districts of Africa, and sailing adventurously to Europe, they concluded their insulting and prosperous voyage by reaching in safety their native shores¹⁰⁴.

In this amazing enterprize a system to endure for ages was established at once. It discovered to themselves and their neighbours, to all who heard and could imitate, that from the Roman colonies a rich harvest of spoil might be gleaned by those who would seek for it at sea. These Franks had desolated every province almost with impunity; they had plunder to display which must have fired the avarice of every needy spectator; they had acquired skill, which they who joined them might soon inherit; and perhaps the same adventurers, embarking again with new followers, evinced by fresh booty the practicability of similar attempts.

The Saxons had come to their situation about

¹⁰⁴ The original authorities are, Zosimus, end of book 1. Eumen. Paneg. iv. c. 18. and Vopiscus in Probo, c. 18. The adventure is mentioned in Mascou, i. 235. and in Gibbon, i. 339.

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I.

the Elbe by sea, though from what quarter is unknown¹⁰⁵. If they kept up any intercourse with each other, some petty navigation must have ensued, which may have produced their first taste for the naval art. Their situation was fitted for such expeditions as those of the Franks, and it is therefore probable, that the Saxons of Heiligland were among the first to emulate the exploits of the returned exiles.

Usurpation
of Carau-
sius.

The piracies of the Franks and Saxons are not mentioned in the imperial writers anterior to this wonderful navigation; but they seem to have become frequent after it; for within a few years subsequent, the Franks and Saxons so infested the coasts of Belgium, Gaul, and Britain, that the Roman government was compelled to station a powerful fleet at Bologne on purpose to confront them. The command was entrusted to Carausius, a Menapian, of the meanest origin, but long skilful as a pilot, and valiant as a soldier. It was observed, that this commander attacked the pirates only after they had accomplished their ravages, and never restored the capture to the suffering provincials. This conduct excited a suspicion, that by wilful

¹⁰⁵ Wittichind, p. 1. but he adds fables.

remissness

remissness, he permitted the enemy to make the incursions, that he might obtain the booty on their return. This conduct was fatal to the design of suppressing the piracies of the Franks and Saxons. It permitted the habit of such enterprizes to become established, and the success of those who eluded his avarice, on their return, kept alive the eagerness for maritime depredations ¹⁰⁶.

Another incident occurred to establish their propensity and power. The emperor, informed of the treasons of Carausius, ordered his punishment. Apprized of his impending fate, he took refuge in augmented guilt and desperate temerity; he boldly assumed the purple, and was acknowledged emperor by the legions in Britain. The perplexities in which the Roman state was at that time involved favoured his usurpation, and to maintain it he had recourse to one of those important expedients which, originally intended for a temporary exigency, lead ultimately to great revolutions.

As it was only by active warfare that his sovereignty could be maintained, he made alliances with the Germans, and particularly with the

He teaches
the Saxons,
A. D. 287.
the naval
art.

¹⁰⁶ 1 Gibbon, 362. 1 Mascou, 243.

Saxons and Franks, whose dress and manners he imitated, in order to increase their friendship. To make them of all the use he projected, he encouraged their application to maritime affairs; he gave them ships and experienced officers, who taught them navigation and the art of naval combat¹⁰⁷. Thus fostered by an imperial alliance, and supplied with those essential requisites, without which they could not have become permanently formidable, they renewed their predatory attacks with licensed severity. Every coast which had not received Carausius as its lord was open to their well-directed incursions. They perfected themselves in their dangerous art, and by the plunder which they were always gaining, they increased their means as well as their avidity for such a system. The usurpation of Carausius, and the education of the Saxons to the empire of the ocean, lasted seven years.

Magnentius allies with them.

Sixty years afterwards a similar occurrence advanced the Saxon prosperity. Magnentius, another usurper of the bloody and restless sceptre of Rome, having murdered Constantine, endeavoured to preserve the perilous and mocking dignity by an alliance of fraternization with the Franks

¹⁰⁷ 1 Mascou, 244. 1 Gibbon, 364.

and Saxons, whom in return he protected and encouraged ¹⁰⁸. This was another of those auspicious incidents, which enhanced the consequence and power of those tribes who had been invisible to Tacitus, and who had been able to obtain but a hasty glance from the more scrutinizing Alexandrian.

¹⁰⁸ Julian Orat. cited 1 Mascou, 280.

C H A P. V.

*The League of the Saxons with other States, and
their continental Aggrandizement.*

BOOK
I.

BUT in the third century new scenes of power and glory began to open their vistas to the Saxon race: their prosperity may have kindled the emulation of their neighbours, who to share its advantages may have offered their alliance and services. The two emperors, who courted their assistance, may have proposed to them a plan of union, to augment their numbers, prevent their dissensions, and give efficacy to their exertions in their cause; or, as man is prone to imitate whatever is successful, the example of the confederation of the Franks may have stimulated the Saxons to a similar policy.

Whatever was the causing incident, it is certain, that in the beginning of the fourth century the Saxons were not alone on the ocean; other states were moving in concert with them, whose nominal distinctions were suspended or sacrificed to the Saxon name. This addition of strength multiplied the Saxon fleets, gave new terror to
their

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V.

their hostility, and recruited their losses with perpetual population. The league extended. What emulation, policy, or rapacity may have first prompted, success and fear made more universal. They who could not be tempted to unite, dreaded the wrath of those whose proffered alliance they refused. At length, governed by these various motives, most of the nations north of the Rhine assumed the name, strengthened the association, and fought to augment the predominance of the Saxons. The Chauci seem to have led the way in the march of federation. The Frisii, urged by kindred passion and a seductive position, willingly followed.

The precise date of the accession of others is not so clear; but in some period of their power the Chamavi, and at last the Batavi, the Toxandri, and Morini, obeyed the obvious necessity. The Cimbri, the Jutes, the Angles, and others not so discernible, added their numbers to the formidable mass.

When the Angles migrated to Britain, the Saxon possessions beyond the Elbe began to narrow. The Cimbric Chersonesus abandoned the union. The Frisians were strong enough to assert an independance. But if in these points the Saxons experienced a diminution of power,

F 2

they

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I.

they balanced the defection by the incorporation of other states. The Cherusci, the Angrivarii, part of the Attuarii, and at last the Bructeri, though they long resisted, assumed the extending name, which in the end monopolized the first country of the Franks¹⁰.

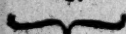
Without detaining the reader by a detail of the modern chorography answering to the position of these tribes¹¹, it may be sufficient to state concisely, that as the boundaries of the Saxon states enlarged with their leagues, the population between the Elbe and the Weser was marshalled in their squadrons. Advancing onwards, they stretched their mighty limbs, growing more gigantic in every generation, from the Weser to the Ems; still augmenting, they diffused themselves to the Rhine with varying latitude, as the Franks, many of whose allies they seduced, quitting that region, marched upon Gaul. The extension of this new confederation was favoured by the change of policy and position adopted by

¹⁰ Spener's *Notitia*, 363—370. That the Saxons of the fifth century were an association of peoples was remarked by Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.* 305. and Langhorn, *Elench. Ant. Alb.* 342. See also Freret, *Mem. Ac. Inscr.* xxxiii. p. 134. and 2 Gibbon, 523.

¹¹ This may be seen as to the Chauci, Spener, 302—313. Cluverius, l. 3. p. 72. Cellarius, *Ant. Geog.* i. p. 298. The Frisii, Spener, 314—332. Cluv. p. 55. Cell. 295. The Chamavi, Sp. 260, &c. The same authors treat of the others.

the Franks. As this people stood foremost to the Roman vengeance they experienced its effects. They had many distressing wars to maintain, which in time compelled them to abandon maritime expeditions, to consolidate their strength for their continental conflicts. Hence, the nearer we approach the period of the invasion of England, we find the Franks less and less united with the Saxons, and even wars begin to be frequent between the rival friends. As the former moved onward to the conquest of Belgium and Gaul, the Saxons appear to have been the only nation under whose name the vessels of piracy were navigated. From fear or friendship all their allies assumed or submitted to their appellation. Saxons were the enemies every where execrated, though under this title several nations fought. Some of the tribes on the maritime coast, who had composed the league of the Franks, abandoned it, to share the easier warfare and ampler booty of the Saxons. At last this successful people diffused themselves into the interior of Germany so victoriously, that the vast tracts of country embraced between the Elbe, the Sala, and the Rhine, became subjected to their power ¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ Ad. Brem. p. 3. Chrytæus, 72. et Proem. Krantz Saxon, p. 5. Spener Notit. 2 vol. 400—413. Eginhart, the secretary of Charlemagne, says, p. 7. that in his time, Saxony Germaniæ pars non modica est.



An old Belgic chronicle, in rhyme, makes Neder Sassen, Lower Saxony, to have been confined by the Scheld and the Meuse¹¹²; but this is a larger extent than others admit.

¹¹² Our Sheringham, has quoted this: The Latin translation is,
Antiquos libros audio ego mentionem facere,
Quod tota regio infra Neomagum,
Olim inferior Saxonia dicta,
Ita ut fluvius separavit
A Mosa et a Rheno,

Scaldis erat occidentalis finis ejus. De Angl. Orig. 26.

It is worth while adding the original, as a striking instance of the affinity between the Belgic and the English languages:

Oude bocken hoor ick gewagen,
Dat all t'land beneden Nyemagen,
Wilén neder Sassen hiet,
Alfoo als die stroom verschiet
Vander Maze ende van den Rhyn,
Die Schelt was dat westende syn. Schilt. Thes. 706.

CHAP. VI.

Their general Character.

CHAP.
VI.

As the Saxons became known to the Romans chiefly by successful depredations on the maritime provinces, the accounts transmitted to us of their character have been framed from their hostile exploits. Strength of body, patience in warlike labour, a ferocious courage, and a formidable activity, are the qualities by which they have been commemorated. Some authors have ascribed their success less to their personal courage than to the unexpectedness of their attack. The Saxons endeavoured rather to surprise than to combat, to plunder rather than to subdue. But this mode of warfare resulted from their great inferiority to their mighty adversaries. Pirates could not wrestle hand to hand with an empire, of which half the world was the base; they could gain no advantage but where they were not foreseen; they could not hope to make an impression unless they anticipated preparation, or by stratagem could elude it.

It must be confessed, that the predominant characteristic of our ancestors was an attachment

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I.CHAPTER
IV.

to piratical expeditions. Whether these were more atrocious than the campaigns of the ambitious, of Cæsar, Alexander, or Gengis Chan, the judgment of mankind will decide. Unquestionably they were not more unjust; but one circumstance seems reasonably to stamp marauders with infamy, which is, that their hostilities are commonly directed against the defenceless and the peaceable. In civilized war between states who recognize the law of nations, fleets glory to conflict with fleets, and armies seek out armies to contend with. The quiet occupant of the cottage and the town, unless by the most unprincipled profligacy, is seldom wilfully invaded in his property or his happiness; they who have chosen the military life are the principal sufferers; and though humanity must hear of their wretchedness with a sigh, yet it cannot but rejoice at a system of warfare, which narrows the sphere of misfortune, and directs the evil chiefly on those who have the courage voluntarily to brave it.

The Saxons conducted their depredations with cautious activity. So fearless was their disposition, or so fortunate their general exertions, that they did not always select their victims by previous deliberation. They sailed into the ocean, determined

determined only upon plunder, and they suffered the wind to waft them to whatever coast was in its course. This conduct, which resembled intrepid rashness, was frequently their safest prudence; if it sometimes led them to parts so provided as to punish their audacity, it oftener carried them to provinces where the inhabitants, amazed at their unforeseen descent, could give no effectual resistance; hence they usually returned rich in plunder. It was from the frequency and fury of these attacks that the Saxons were every where dreaded beyond any other nation¹¹³.

The acquisition of booty was not all their achievement. It is melancholy to add, that to secure their retreat, or perhaps to indulge a ferocity of disposition, they sometimes desolated the regions which they plundered with murderous and fiery ravages. They fought also for slaves¹¹⁴.

Inland

¹¹³ Salvian, who wrote in the fifth century, gives these national characters of several barbarous nations: "Gens Saxonum fera est, Francorum infidelis, Gepidarum inhumana, Hunnorum impudica;" he adds, the "ebrietas Alamanni, and rapacitas Albani." De Gub. Dei, l. 4. Mag. Bib. Patrum, v. 5. p. 82.

¹¹⁴ These particulars of the Saxons are taken from Am. Marcell. ed. Gron. p. 405. 383. Orosius, l. 7. c. 32. Zosimus, l. 3. p. 147, ed. Ox. Hegefippus and Julian, quoted in the notes to Am. Marcel. 405. and from Sid. Apoll. Paneg. Aviti. v. 369, and

Inland provinces were not protected from their invasion. From ignorance, necessity, or policy, they traversed the ocean in boats framed of osiers, and covered with skins sewed together; and such was their skill or their prodigality of life, that in these they sported in the tempests of the British ocean¹¹⁵.

It is possible that men who had seen the vessels in which the Franks had escaped from the Pontus, and who had been twice instructed by imperial usurpers in the naval art, might have constructed more important war ships if their judgment had approved. Although their isles, and their maritime provinces of Ditmarsia and Stormaria were barren of wood, yet Holsatia abounded with it; and if their defective land-carriage prevented the frequency of this supply, the Elbe was at hand to float down inexhaustible stores from the immense forests of Germany.

and his epistles, l. 8. ep. 6.—Symmachus gives an additional trait—a pride of mind, which could not endure disgrace. Twenty-nine strangled themselves to avoid being brought into a theatre for a gladiatorial show. Ep. 46. l. 2. p. 90. Salvian applauds their chastity.

¹¹⁵ That this ocean was anciently dangerous from its tempests, Boniface, the self-devoted missionary of Germany, often states, *periculosum est navigantibus*, p. 52. *Germanici tempestatibus maris undique quassantibus fatigati senis miserere*, p. 59. vol. xvi. *Bib. Mag. Patrum*.

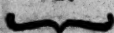
They may have preferred their light *skiffs*¹¹⁶, from an experience of their superior utility. When their fatal incursions had incited the Romans to fortify and to garrison the frontier of Britain and Gaul, the Saxons directed their enmity against the inland regions. For their peculiar vessels no coast was too shallow, no river too small; they dared to ascend the streams for eighty or an hundred miles, and if other plunder invited or danger pressed, they carried their vessels from one river to another, and thus escaped with facility from the most superior foe¹¹⁷.

Of the Saxons, an author of the fifth century says to a friend who was opposed to them, "You see as many piratical leaders as you behold rowers, for they all command, obey, teach, and learn the art of pillage. Hence, after your greatest caution, still greater care is requisite. This enemy is fiercer than any other; if you be unguarded, they attack; if prepared, they elude you. They despise the opposing and

¹¹⁶ On the vessels of the Saxons, see Du Bos, *Hist. Crit. de la Mon. de France*, i. p. 150.—*Mioparo quasi minimus paro; idem et carabus. Est parva scapha ex vimine facta quæ contexta crudo corio genus navigii præbet. Isidorus Orig. l. 19. c. 1. 1 Maseou, 584.*

¹¹⁷ See Du Bos, 149. 2 Gibbon, 524.

"destroy



HISTORY OF THE

“destroy the unwary; if they pursue they over-
 “take, if they fly they escape. Shipwrecks dis-
 “cipline them, not deter; they do not merely
 “know, they are familiar to all the dangers of
 “the sea; a tempest gives them security and
 “success, for it divests the meditated land of the
 “apprehension of a descent. In the midst of
 “waves and threatening rocks they rejoice at
 “their peril, because they hope to surprise”¹¹⁸.”

An enemy of this hardihood and perseverance might well be contemplated with terror by the suffering provincials.

A more dismal feature of their character explains impressively the peculiar horror which every where attended their presence. It was their custom after a successful enterprize, and before they spread the sails of return, to select by lot a tenth of their captives, and to massacre the devoted victims to their terrible superstitions¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁸ Sid. Apoll. Epist. 6. l. 8.

¹¹⁹ Sid. Apoll. ib. The northern custom of human sacrifices will be considered on another occasion.

CHAP. VII.

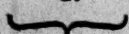
Sequel of their History to the Period of the English Invasion.

THE prosperity and contiguity of Britain invited frequent visits from this adventurous nation, and their attacks were favoured by the incursions of other enemies, who are called by the historians Picti, Scoti, and Attacotti.

CHAP.
VII.

In 368 a similar combination of hostilities is recorded. Nectaridus, the commander of the Saxon shore, was slain, and the general of the island, Fullo-faudes, perished in an ambush. Several officers were sent to succeed them from the imperial court, but their exertions being inadequate to the necessity, Theodosius, an experienced and successful leader, was appointed by Valentinian in their room. The various nations of the Picts and the co-operating tribes roamed in a large circle of devastation within the island, while the Saxons and their allies, with every diversity of ruin, assaulted the maritime coasts. Arriving at Richborough he marched towards
London,

Defeat of
the Saxons
by Theo-
dosius.



London, and dividing his army into battalions, correspondent to the positions of the enemies, he attacked the wasteful robbers encumbered with their plunder. The bands that were carrying away the manacled inhabitants and their cattle he destroyed, and regained the spoil; of this he distributed a small share among his wearied soldiers, the residue he restored to its owners, and entered the city, wondering at its sudden deliverance, with the glories of an ovation.

Lessoned by experience, and instructed by the confessions of the captives and deserters, he combated this mixture of ferocious enemies with well-combined artifice and unexpected attacks. To recal those who in the confusion, from fear or from cowardice, had abandoned their ranks or their allegiance, he proclaimed an amnesty¹²⁰. Power is wisely exerted to teach guilt to fear; but if the cherub Mercy flies to arrest the uplifted arm, and shelters the penitent under her wings, the governor who obeys her voice imitates the best attribute of his creator. Such examples humanize the mind, purify the sentiment, and sublimely advance the morality of mankind.

To complete the benefit he had begun, he prosecuted the war with vigour in the north of

¹²⁰ Am. Marcel. l. 27. c. 8. p. 283.

Britain;

Britain; he prevented by judicious movements the meditated attack, and hence the Orkneys became the scene of his triumphs. The Saxons, strong in their numbers and intrepidity, sustained several naval encounters before they yielded to his genius ¹²¹. They ceased at last to molest the tranquillity of Britain, and the addition of a deserved sur-name proclaimed the services of Theodosius ¹²². He added the province of Valentia to Roman Britain, restored the deserted garrisons, and coerced the unruly borderers by judicious stations and a vigilant defence ¹²³.

The Saxon confederation might be defeated but was not subdued. Such was its power, that they were bold enough to defy the Roman armies by land, and invaded the regions on the Rhine with a formidable force. The imperial general was unable to repulse them; a reinforcement encouraged him. The Saxons declined a battle, and sued for an amicable accommodation. It was granted. A number of the youth fit for war was given to the Romans to augment their

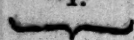
P perfidy of
the Ro-
mans, 370.

¹²¹ Claud. 4 Conf. Hon. 31. *maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades.*
Pacatus Paneg. Theod. Saxo consumptus bellis navalibus, p. 97.

¹²² Pacat. 98. "*Quum ipse Saxonicus.*"—The British government have wisely done equal justice to the defenders of their country: We have Earl St. Vincent, Lord Viscount Duncan Baron of Camperdown, and Baron Nelson of the Nile.

¹²³ Am. Marc. p. 406. Claudian. de 3 Consul. Hon. *states his successes against the Picts and Scots, p. 44.*

armies ;



armies; the rest were to retire unmolested. The Romans were not ashamed to confess their dread of the invaders by a perfidious violation of the treaty. They attacked the retreating Saxons from an ambush, and after a brave resistance the unguarded barbarians were slain or made prisoners. It is to the disgrace of literature that the national historian of the day has presumed, while he records, to apologise for the ignominious fraud ¹²⁴.

Before many years elapsed, they renewed their depredations, and defeated Maximus ¹²⁵. At the close of the fourth century they exercised the activity and resources of Stilicho; but the unsuccessful issue of the unequal struggle is commemorated by the encomiastical poet, whose genius gilds with a departing ray the darkening hemisphere of Rome ¹²⁶. After his death new eruptions commenced ¹²⁷. They supported the Armorici in their rebellion ¹²⁸, awed the Gothic Euric, began to war with the Franks ¹²⁹, and, ex-

¹²⁴ Am. Mar. 416.—Orosius, vii. c. 12, and Cassiodorus, 2 vol. 636. also mention the incident.

¹²⁵ S. Ambrose, quoted 1 Mascou, 371.

¹²⁶ Claudian. de Laud. Stil. l. 2. p. 140. Elz. edit.

¹²⁷ Jerom in Mascou, 410.

¹²⁸ Sid. Appoll. Panes Avit. v. 369.

¹²⁹ 2 Mascou, 39. Gregory of Tours, l. 2. c. 19. mentions the capture of the Saxon islands by the Franks; and l. 4. c. 10. what he calls their rebellion and Chlotarius successes against them. Ib. et c. 14.

ANGLO-SAXONS.

81

CHAP.
VII.

tending the theatre of their spoil, made Belgium, Gaul, Italy, and Germany tremble at their presence; at length Charlemagne, having prosecuted against them one of the most obstinate and destructive wars which history has recorded, their predominance was abased, and their spirit of aggression destroyed.

C H A P. VIII.

*The History of Britain, from the Death of Maximus
in 388, to the Arrival of the Saxons in 449.*

BOOK
I.

As we are about to introduce the Saxons upon a new theatre of splendid enterprize, it will be useful to contemplate awhile the state of the country, for which many of their tribes abandoned their domestic wilds. A just perception of the events in Britain, which preceded their arrival, will usefully illustrate the causes of their progress, and remove some of the difficulties with which this portion of our history is peculiarly embarrassed.

The transactions of the natives of Britain, from the fall of Maximus, have been clouded from our sight by the want of accurate historiographers of this period. The crude declamation of Gildas, Bede's extracts from him, the abrupt intimations of Nennius, and the British romance of Tyffilio¹³⁰ or Jeffry, are all the original documents

¹³⁰ That there is in existence a Welch history, written by Tyffilio, called Brut y Brenhinoedd, of which Jeffry is an incorrect translation, I learn from the Cambrian Register, a work seemingly intended

ments which either Britons or Saxons have left us on this curious and important interval.

The querulous invective of Gildas has been reduced to some chronology by Bede, and the broken narrations of Nennius have been amplified by Jeffry, or his Welch original Tyffilio; but the labours of Bede have only succeeded in making obscurity more obscure; and all that the imagination of Tyffilio has effected, has been to people the gloom with horrible shadows and fantastic shapes, which make us welcome the darkness that they attempt to remove ¹³¹.

The chronology into which Bede has distorted the rhetoric of Gildas was honestly but erroneously chosen by our venerable and valuable historian ¹³². His authority, which his learning

Bede's
chronology
of this pe-
riod erro-
neous.

intended to revive the ancient British literature. I hope it will be continued. To induce studious individuals to make public the fruit of their private researches, nothing is so effectual as to present respectable channels of periodical publication. We know so little of Welsh learning, that it is a national disgrace—every means of obtaining it should be patronized. Tyffilio lived about . . . The first part of his history is published in the Cambrian Register, with a translation. When the rest appears, we shall see how far Jeffry has interpolated.

¹³¹ Has Jeffry translated faithfully Tyffilio's history of this period?

¹³² Bede postpones the invasions of the Picts and Scots, and the coming of the legions, until after Constantine. I have considered attentively the reasonings of his ingenious editor in his behalf, but I cannot coincide in his opinion. See Smith's Bede, App. p. 672.



would in any age make respectable, has been peculiarly impressive, because, without his ecclesiastical history, we should have lost almost all knowledge of the Anglo-Saxons for three centuries after their establishment in this island. With unsuspicious deference our historians have rather studied Gildas, as he has been transcribed by Bede, than in his own composition, and thus they have governed the chronology of this interesting interval by the authority of Bede, without examining if Bede has not been himself mistaken.

Jeffry's
history fa-
bulous.

If from the Saxon we turn to the British history, we shall find that either Jeffry or Tyffilio have accumulated so many fables, and perverted so many real incidents, that we might as well make the Arabian Nights our authority for the occurrences at Bagdad, as adopt the history of this period, which these authors have transmitted for a faithful document of the transactions in Britain.

The Welch
hards
wanted in
history.

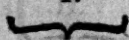
One British fountain of knowledge, indeed, exists, which may pour forth new streams of interesting information. The poems of Talieffin, Aneurin, Myrrdhin, and Meigant, which now lie wasting their sweetness on surrounding dust, might, if selected with the most jealous criticism,

cism, and faithfully translated with their authenticated originals annexed, reflect many rays of light, by which the true path and genuine inhabitants of this palpable obscure will be revealed to our curiosity undistorted and undisguised ¹³³.

To contest the chronography of Bede, who lived 1000 years nearer to Gildas than ourselves, would be a presumptuous attempt, if it were certain that he had other and better materials for the regulation of his judgment, than those which we possess. But on the period to which we now allude, he appears to have enjoyed those advantages only which also exist to us. He contented himself with Gildas, of whose work he for the most part transcribes literal extracts; and he also glanced upon the imperial historians. We possess all these; the chronology of Bede is therefore a point of historical judgment, in which his decision cannot be conclusive, unless modern critics can perceive it to be just. His materials are in our hands, and the imperial history has been illustrated by many men of superior erudition, and by some of the most commanding intelligence. The subject is thus open to the investigation of every student. It is indeed a delicate

Apology
for reject-
ing Bede's
Chrono-
logy.

¹³³ It is a long while since the poems of Taliessin were announced. Shall we never be indulged with them?



task of criticism. The coast is deceitful; the attractive clouds of fancy sail gaudily around it, and the enquirer can hardly escape their fascinating delusions; but the attempt must be made; the tropes and figures, which dance through the pages of Gildas, in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion, want some interpretation and arrangement. Breathe then, ye gentle gales of sober reason, guide our little bark from every fallacious speculation, and waft us happily into the haven of truth.

It has been remarked by a judge of no ordinary rank, that our antiquarians, even the great Camden himself, have been betrayed into many gross errors by their imperfect knowledge of the history of the continent¹³⁴. To diminish if possible the mistakes of our young judgment, let us, as an auxiliary palladium, with rapid but faithful glance take a general survey of the history of the Roman empire at this period, as a necessary preliminary to a just discussion of our own.

Rise and
fall of
Maximus,
383—388.

While Gratian governed the western wing of the Roman eagle, and Theodosius the eastern, the legions of Britain, who had so often been conspicuous for their turbulence, seceded from their allegiance to Gratian, and in concert with

¹³⁴ 3 Gibbon, 274.

the provincials, appointed Maximus, a Spaniard by birth, but then in the Roman service in Britain, to be their emperor in his stead ¹³⁵. As both the dignity and life of the new sovereign were insecure until the goddess of victory had confirmed the usurpation, he strengthened himself by the services of a great body of British youth, and with these descended into Gaul. Many wonders have been fabled of his levies, and of the fatal effects of their absence from the island. Many legends of the most ridiculous nature have been appended, which grave historians have believed. Armorica has been colonized by his British soldiers, and Cornwall has been exhausted of its virgins to console them : but the enamoured spirit of the waters interfered ; some thousands of the female adventurers it unreasonably monopolized to itself, and sent the residue to the Picts and Huns at Cologne, to be virtuously murdered or conveniently enslaved ¹³⁶.

Gratian

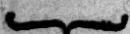
¹³⁵ See Gibbon, iii. p. 5. His diligence supersedes the necessity of original references.

¹³⁶ See Usher, 617—636. Ib. 200. This affair, as stated by Jeffrey, l. 5. c. 14. is, that Maximus ordered 100,000 common people and 30,000 soldiers out of Britain to colonize Armorica ; c. 15. he desired wives for them ; and c. 16. the king of Cornwall sent Urfula, his beautiful daughter, with 11,000 noble ladies, and 60,000 meaner women, who embarked at London. Great storms

drowned

BOOK

I.



Gratian was the victim of this rebellion, and Maximus retained the purple until ambition stimulated him to contest with Theodosius. The superior ability of the emperor of the east avenged the death of his unfortunate patron. The British soldiers did not long survive the usurper they befriended; but that they wandered into Armorica, and new-named it, seems to be unfounded ¹³⁷.

In 391, the generous Theodosius delivered the sceptre of the western empire to Valentinian, who marched into Gaul against the Franks; he renewed the ancient leagues with them, but perished

part, and Guanius king of the Huns, and Melga king of the Picts, murdered the others, who resolved to be virtuous. Johan Major will have Ursula to be the daughter of the Scottish king, that Scotland may have the credit of her story. A lady settles the point by averring, that Verena, one of the virgins, assured her, in an express revelation, that the blessed Ursula was a Scots woman; her convenient visions also authenticated their relics. Vision Elizabeth, l. 4. c. 2. Usher Primord. 618—624. Baronius, who with others countenances the emigration, mentions, that the Martyrologies devoted the 11th October to the memory of Ursula and the 71,000. Selden, Drayton, 131. Some affirm, that no person can be buried at Cologne, in the place where they were said to have lain, because the ground throws up other corpses, which some deny. Usher, 202 and 993.

¹³⁷ This point has been much controverted, but I cannot avoid agreeing with Du Bos, that quant aux tems ou la peuplade des Bretons insulaires s'est établié dans les Gaules, it was not before the year 513. Hist. Crit. ii. 470. The chronicle of the abbey of Mont S. Michel gives this year. Anno 513, venerunt transmarini Britanni in Armoricam, id est minorem Britanniam. Ib. 472.

ed by the weapon of a murderer in 392. A new adventurer for empire, Eugenius, assumed his dignity, made new treaties with the Franks and Alemanni, collected troops from all parts to maintain the exalted station, he had ventured to seize, and advanced to defy the genius of Theodosius. In 394, he sustained a destructive combat near Aquileia, which terminated his ambition and his life ¹³⁸

The next year was saddened by the death of Theodosius himself, and when his funereal honours entered the mansion of sepulchral rest, the Roman glory began to set. Two dim-twinkling stars ascended from the horizon which he left, but only shone to disgrace their parent lustre. The western hemisphere was possessed by Honorius, the youngest son of Theodosius, who in January 395, at the age of eleven, became master of an empire almost besieged by enemies. Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, looked up to him for protection ¹³⁹, and in turns demanded it, while Arcadius, his brother, filled the throne of the east. A minister able to have upheld a falling state directed the young mind

¹³⁸ 1 Mascou, 371—373. 3 Gibbon, 56—64. A very exalted and interesting character of Theodosius is drawn by Aurel. Victor, 1 Hist. Rom. Script. 635. folio edit.

¹³⁹ 3 Gibbon, 104.

of Honorius. Stilicho, his appointed guardian, passed the Alps soon after the new accession, reviewed the garrisons on the Rhine, and negotiated with the Germans. During the progress of the same year he marched the legions of the empire along the coast of the Hadriatic, to punish the guilty favourite, who was diffusing misery through the east. In November, the fate of Rufinus delivered Stilicho from a competitor, and the world from a subordinate tyrant, who converted a trust of power into an instrument of base oppression ¹⁴⁰.

But the enemy that was destined to shake the Roman colossus from its pedestal, and to give the signal of successful onset to the barbarians who were crowding to encompass it, began now

¹⁴⁰ Gibbon, 117—120. Claudian has punished the vices of Rufinus by one of the finest effusions of heroic satire which any language can exhibit. His description of the council of the calamities of mankind is a living picture :

“ Nutrix Discordia belli,
Imperiosa Fames, Leto vicina Senectus,
Impatiens que sui Morbus, Livorque secundis
Anxius, et scisso mœrens velamine Luctus,
Et Timor et cæco preceps Audacia vultu
Et Luxus populator opum, quem semper adhærens
Infelix humili gressu comitatur Egestas,
Fœda que Avaritiæ complexæ pectora matris
Insomnes longo veniunt examine Curæ.”

In. Ruf. l. i. p. 21. Elz. ed.

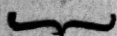
to

to exhibit his tempestuous power. To produce momentous revolutions on the theatre of the world is a destiny annexed by providence to superior genius, when it is placed in the sphere of command. Empires rise to grandeur by the potent springs which they and they only can set in action; but when these have spent their force, and a new potentate appears, gifted with the same creative powers, the scenes of greatness change, the descendants of the illustrious are destroyed, and new edifices of sovereignty are erected, to tower, to menace, and to fall like those on whose ruins they exist.

At some periods the emerging genius is a vernal sun, brilliant, cheering, and beneficent; nature assumes new beauty as it predominates; the blossoms of happiness smile around, and the fruits of plenty are prepared. At others it is a rapid meteor, blazing with unwholesome flames, and vanishing speedily into night; or a portentous comet, whose presence, according to the dreams of human ignorance, diffuses wars, malignity, and pestilence, until the world is desolated by its duration, and in tears of blood weeps for its departure. Of this ominous description was Alaric, who, at the close of the fourth century,

united

Rise of
Alaric.



united under his sovereignty the strength of the Gothic nation.

In the year 376 the western world had been alarmed by the irruption of the Huns¹⁴¹. After swelling their army by the nations they conquered, they had rushed on the Gothic tribes. Unable to repulse the ferocious invaders, the Goths had precipitated themselves over the Danube. Stationed by the emperor Valens in lower Mœsia, the Goths had revolted, had penetrated into Thrace, defeated and killed their imperial benefactor, in 378, at Hadrianople, and from this disastrous day never abandoned the Roman territory¹⁴². At length Theodosius had made with them an accommodation; a large portion of their warriors had been taken into the imperial service, and a successful attempt had been made to convert them to the Christian faith.

Among the Goths, who were allied to the

¹⁴¹ Their history is ably abridged by Mr. Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 561. he traces their unsuccessful contests with the Chinese, their divisions and emigrations, their conquests, the union of the Alani, and their wars upon the Goths. One of their ancient historians, Jornandes, c. 24, gives their execranda origine, that is, veneficarum cum im-mundis spiritibus congressu. M. de Guignes leads the way on their history.

¹⁴² Gibbon, ii. p. 591—617. Ib. 640.

Roman armies, Alaric passed his youth. Born in the island of Peuce¹⁴³, on the Euxine, of one of the principal families of the Goths¹⁴⁴, he had early abandoned the confined limits of his native soil to act a magnificent part in the most civilized regions of Europe. He solicited an appointment in the Roman armies, and he was only entrusted with the command of barbarian battalions. Though by birth a barbarian himself, he felt the superiority of his assuming mind, and was disgusted by the degradation. In Thrace, 396, in Macedon and in Thessaly he shewed the terrors of his discontent; he obtained the passage of the immortalized Thermopylæ, diffused himself over Bœotia, Attica, and the Peloponnesus; and though his superstition protected Athens from his fury, the other famed cities in Greece, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, alas how degenerated! were conquered by his valour, his

¹⁴³ Claud. de 6 Consul. Hon. p. 174. Peuce is an island at the mouth of the Danube, formed by two of its discharging torrents. Strabo, p. 211. Dionys. Periegetes, v. 301. Fest. Avienus, v. 441, and Pliny, l. 4. c. 12, mention it. Mela, l. 2. c. 12, says, that of the six islands among the mouths of the Danube, Peuce notissima est maxima.

¹⁴⁴ The existence of nobility among the Goths is a curious circumstance. Jornandes says of Alaric, "*Secunda nobilitas Barbarum que ex genere origo mirifica, &c.*"

fortune,



fortune, or his name¹⁴⁵. When Stilicho advanced with the imperial troops to chastize the daring invader, by a great exertion of skill Alaric escaped to Epirus, and extorted from the timid ministers of the Byzantine court the title and authority of governor of the Eastern Illyricum. He was soon after recognized king of the Visigoths¹⁴⁶.

We may now limit our view to the world of Britain, and proceed to contrast our Gildas with the Greek and Latin writers; we shall find that at first they travel together, but conclude their journey in very different directions.

Immediately after mentioning the death of Maximus, Gildas states¹⁴⁷, that Britain, despoiled of her soldiery and military apparatus, and her

Gildas compared with the imperial writers.

¹⁴⁵ Zosimus, l. 5. p. 292—295. Yet let not the historian's apology for Sparta be forgotten, "*nec armis amplius nec idoneis ad pugnam viris munita propter Romanorum avaritiam.*"

¹⁴⁶ The history of Alaric is luminously narrated by Gibbon, v. 3. p. 134.

¹⁴⁷ Gildas, l. 11. p. 4. Gale's xv Scriptores. Richard, entitled of Cirencester by some, by others Monk of Westminster, places this invasion in the year after the death of Maximus, l. 2. c. 1. See his *de Situ Britanniae* in the *Antiquitates Celto-normannicae*, p. 120. Ado. Viennensis, an author of the ninth century, gives a similar chronology. *Chron. Aetas Sexta*, p. 353. *Bib. Mag. Patrum*, v. 7. —Bede, without any authority, and contrary to the literal meaning of Gildas, postpones it for above twenty years, l. 1, c. 12. and thus lays a foundation for his subsequent mistakes.

youth,

youth, who followed the usurper to return no more, and being utterly ignorant of war, groaned for many years under the incursions of the Scots a Circione ¹⁴⁸, and of the Picts from the north.

This account is befriended by the imperial history. It is stated by Sozomen, that Maximus collected a numerous army from Britain, Gaul, and Germany, and went to Italy ¹⁴⁹. We learn from others, that the Franks took advantage of his absence to invade Gaul, and that the Saxons also moved in successful hostility against him ¹⁵⁰. During the reign of his prosperity, in the second year of his empire, the Picts and Scots had vigorously defied him ¹⁵¹. It becomes, therefore, highly

¹⁴⁸ The Circius is mentioned by Pliny, 2. 46, as a wind famous in the province of Narbonne, and inferior in vehemence to none. Ainsworth makes it a southern wind, which blows out of France through Italy; this is rather impossible, as Italy is south of France. Harduin more justly interprets it, nord-west-nord. It was sometimes so violent as to uncover houses. Fabri Thesaurus, in voc. i. p. 550.

¹⁴⁹ "Collecto ex Britannia et vicinis Galliis, et ex Germanis ac finitimis gentibus numeroſo exercitu, in Italiam profectus est." Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 13. p. 721. Ed. Vales.

¹⁵⁰ The valuable fragment of Sulpitius Alexander, preserved by Gregory of Tours. l. c. c. 9. p. 34. mentions the Francic incursion; and St. Ambrose, ep. 17. intimates, though with no particulars, the Saxon success. "Ille statim a Francis, a Saxonum gente in Sicilia Sicie et Petavione ubique denique terrarum victus est." Mascou, 371.

¹⁵¹ Prosper in his Chronicon says, "incurſantes Pictos et Scotos, Maximus strenue superavit." See it annexed to Eusebius Chron. prior,

highly probable, that these Irish and Caledonian wanderers would be alert to profit by the opportunity of his absence, as well as the Franks and Saxons. On this occasion we shall accredit Gildas, and as Maximus was killed at Aquileia in 388¹⁵², we may consider that as the year in which the incursions began.

The next account of Gildas is, that the British nation, unable to endure these ravages, sent an embassy to Rome, desiring a military force, and promising a faithful obedience to the imperial sceptre¹⁵³. That a province suffering under a hostile invasion should solicit succour from the fountain of power, and that to obtain it they should lavish assurances of fidelity, to expiate the imputation of treason, which the elevation of Maximus would produce, are circumstances which bear the marks of truth in their extreme probability.

He adds, that a legion came by sea, well appointed with every requisite for service; that, engaging with the enemy, they destroyed a great multitude, drove them from the borders, and

prior, p. 49, in the edition of the great Scaliger. Fordun also mentions this. Scot. Hist. p. 616.

¹⁵² 3 Gibbon, 40. The British history miscalls him Maximian, and kills him at Rome, l. 5. c. 16.

¹⁵³ Gildas, f. 12.

liberated

liberated the subjected natives from their rapacity and tyranny ¹⁵⁴.

Of the imperial writers let us enquire by whom this service was performed. For three years after the fate of Maximus, both divisions of the Roman empire were governed by Theodosius ¹⁵⁵, who, by his edict, made void all the usurper's exertions of the prerogative, that every thing might resume its pristine situation ¹⁵⁶. It was a necessary consequence of these orders, that the civil powers of the revolted provinces should be immediately replaced; we accordingly find that a vicarius was sent to Britain by Theodosius, whose good conduct was admired ¹⁵⁷. No other period seems to have been more suitable to his administration ¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁴ Gildas, s. 12. ¹⁵⁵ Gibbon, iii. p. 55.

¹⁵⁶ The first edict forbade any one to assume the honours which Maximus had granted; the third commanded his patents of dignity to be returned, the legal sentences to be erased, and all acts done under his authority to be void. In this and the next edict, in 395, some exceptions were allowed. Cod. Theod. l. 13. tit. 14.

¹⁵⁷ Socrates, Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 12. This temperate expression of Socrates, *θαυμάσιον*, was construed by Carte to imply the attainment of such a height of glory, that he must have stopped the Scottish depredations, p. 169. Our Henry also amplifies it so far as to say, that Chrysanthus was sent on purpose to check them, that he executed his commission with great ability and success, expelled the enemies, and restored the tranquillity of the province. He refers to Socrates as his authority, who only mentions what the text expresses.

¹⁵⁸ The remark of Carte is just, that in no other juncture could Theodosius have intermeddled in the affairs of the western empire, p. 169.

HISTORY OF THE

But from the time of Constantine the policy of the emperors had completely separated the civil and military powers ¹⁵⁹. This regulation could not allow Chrysanthus to have been the deliverer of Britain. The military arm was wielded by an arrangement of officers jealously distinguished from the civil authority ¹⁶⁰. Chrysanthus may have governed Britain as vicarius, to diffuse internal quiet over a revolted province, as far as the civil magistracy was able to operate, but could have no forces to coerce the menacing barbarians.

During the latter period of the reign of Theodosius, and for many years in the reign of his successor, the military force of the western empire was under the command of Stilicho, the master-general of the cavalry and infantry of the west ¹⁶¹. It must have been under him that every military aid was dispatched into Britain.

¹⁵⁹ 2 Gibbon, 43. Du Bos, Hist. Crit. i. 60. Le prefet du pretoire, et les officiers qui lui estoient subordonnés, ne commandent plus les troupes.—The vicarius of Britain was under the præfectus prætorio of the Gauls, Notitia, f. 36, and was a civil officer.

¹⁶⁰ Even Julian, when sent to command the army in Gaul, though he, en qualité de Cesar, ou d'heritier presomptif de l'empire, put pretendre a une autorité plus etendue que celle qu'un generalissime ordinaire auroit exercée en vertu de sa commission, cependant Julien n'osoit rien decider concernant la levée des subsides et la subsistance des troupes. Du Bos, 61.

¹⁶¹ 3 Gibbon, 116.

The indistinct intimations of the Monk of Bangor are confirmed by the elegance and melody of Claudian; his mellifluous muse devoted herself to pursue the triumphs, and to proclaim the glory of Stilicho; and in Claudian's historic picture of his fame, the victorious battles of this superior man with the Picts and Scots, form one of those splendid groupes, which, for this part of his life, have ensured to Stilicho the admiration of time ¹⁶².

But poetry has been commanded to exclude geography from her lays, that the euphony of her versification may not be sacrificed to topographical accuracy. As severely is the bard forbidden to meddle with chronology, unless he meditates suicide. We must not, therefore, expect, from the pleasing yet neglected Claudian, the exact year of the Christian æra in which Stilicho or his officers approached Ireland and

¹⁶² Claudian de Laud. Stil. l. 2. p. 140. Elz. edit.

Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro
Ferro picta genas, cujus vestigia verrit
Cærus, oceani que æstum mentitur amictus,
Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Me juvat Stilicho, totam eum Scotus Iernem
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
Scotica, ne pictum tremere, ne litore tuto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

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HISTORY OF THE

Caledonia. We are reduced to guess from circumstances at that chronology which the laws of Parnassus will not allow the inspired train to reveal.

Britain, according to Gildas, mourned these devastations many years. A probable interval seems to arise from the situation of the empire. Though Maximus was conquered in 388, yet the Franks and Saxons continued in hostility. When Valentinian, who was sent against them into Gaul, was murdered, the usurpation of Eugenius harraffed the empire for two years. Soon after he had perished, Theodosius expired.

The death of Rufinus left Stilicho at leisure, in the year 396. The African war was not prosecuted till 398, in which Gildo fell¹⁶³; therefore we may consider either the preceding years, or the subsequent, 399, as the æra in which Britain was rescued from the spoilers sword¹⁶⁴.

This

¹⁶³ Gibbon, iii. p. 128.

¹⁶⁴ Richard places it eleven years before the capture of Rome by Alaric, or 399, l. 2. c. 1. p. 121. Antiq. Celto-Nor. The criticism of Mascou, p. 394, on Pagius, who dates a similar passage in 402, confirms our Richard's chronology, as it makes 399 the year in which Honorius was preparing the expeditions alluded to in the lines

Domito quod Saxone Tethys
Mitior, aut fracto securo Britannia Picto
Ante pedes humili Franco, &c.

In Eutrop. p. 106.

Stillington

This last will allow eleven years for the multos annos which Gildas notes to have intervened between the invasion after Maximus and its suppression.

The querulous narration adds, that the Romans ordered the natives to build a wall between the two seas, in the north of Britain, to deter the invaders, and to protect the natives; that the irrational vulgar, having no director, constructed it of turf instead of stone ¹⁶⁵.

This narration has the appearance of being an ignorant account of the construction of one of those famous walls, which have so deservedly attracted the curiosity of antiquaries.

Gildas states, that this legion having returned home, the plunderers came again ¹⁶⁶. A passage in Claudian verifies the fact, that the legion quitted the wall soon after the successes of Stilicho, and diffuses a ray of light, which determines the chronology of the incident.

Stillingfleet thinks, that this first relief was between the death of Maximus and the setting up of Gratian Municeps. Orig. B. 296.

¹⁶⁵ Gildas, sect. 12.

¹⁶⁶ Gildas, s. 13. The peculiarity of style in which he expresses himself is remarkable: "Rabid robber wolves, with profound hunger and dry jaws, leaping into the sheepfold," are the invaders who are brought over by "the wings of oars, and the arms of rowers, and sails swelling in the wind."



We have mentioned the pacification which Alaric extorted from the eastern government: it might seem to them a release from anxiety; it was made by Alaric an interval of earnest preparation for more fortunate warfare. He surveyed the state of the world with the eyes of prophetic penetration, and discerned the vulnerable part, in which the genius of Rome might be fatally assailed. About the year 400, the Gothic Alexander suddenly marched from his eastern settlements to the Julian Alps, and poured his collected forces into Italy. The emperor of the west fled at his approach, when Stilicho again interposed the protecting shield of superior talents. To meet the destructive Goths with a competent force, he summoned the Roman troops out of Germany and Gaul into Italy; even the legion which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain against the Caledonians was hastily recalled, and attended the imperial general at Milan¹⁶⁷. In the battle of Pollentia, Alaric discovered the inferiority of his troops, and made a bold but ruinous retreat¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁷ Claudian, in his poem de Bello Getico, p. 169.

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferro que notatas
Perlegit exangues Pictæ moriente figuras.

¹⁶⁸ 3 Gibbon, 147—155.

The battle of Pollentia was fought in March 403. We must allow time for the troops to have travelled from the north of Britain to Milan, and may date this departure of the Roman legion in the year 402. No one can disbelieve that in their absence the habitual depredators would return.

Gildas proceeds to inform us, that ambassadors went to Rome with rent garments, and with ashes on their heads, to implore further aid¹⁶⁹. However we may be inclined to ascribe the costume of the embassy to the imagination of the author, we cannot dispute the probable fact, that the province solicited the protection of its sovereign. Moved with the woeful tragedy, the Romans came with a speed which the eloquence of Gildas cannot express but by the similes of eagles, horses, and sailors. What the assisting legion achieved, his own expressions shall be adduced to commemorate, that the genius of the historian and the valour of his heroes may not be defrauded of their honours.

With that copious perspicuity of inexhaustible rhetoric, which we must often admire in this polished author, he exclaims, "The Romans acted like the mountain torrent augmented by

¹⁶⁹ Gildas, l. 14.

“ the frequent currents of the tempests, and
 “ overflowing its channels with sonorous mean-
 “ dring, and wonderfully foaming with furrowed
 “ back and fierce front, the waters thrown up
 “ as it were to the clouds, by which the pupils
 “ of the eyes, though often renovated by the
 “ convolutions of the eyelids, are as it were
 “ blinded by the contortions of the most minute
 “ rotations, but in one burst it bears down the
 “ masses opposed to it; so the admirable allies
 “ swiftly chased over the sea the hostile bands,
 “ if indeed escape were possible¹⁷⁰.”

This sketch of mountain scenery comes appropriately from the pencil of a Cambrian, and is judiciously expressed in a style, rumbling, rough, and fierce, like the object described. The ungrammatical Latin, the wildness of the parenthesis, and the careless disorder of the circumstances of the description, finely illustrate the view. An author less desirous to make the sound an echo to the sense might have expressed the effects of an impetuous torrent on the eyes of the spectator, which is a striking trait of description, more intelligibly, but then he would

¹⁷⁰ Gildas, c. 14. I cannot honour this author, or unjustly degrade another so much as to coincide in the epithet of “ the British Jeremiah,” which Mr. Gibbon applies to him, v. iii. p. 620.

have robbed it of that sublimity which always arises from the obscure.

We have no direct evidence from the imperial writers that Stilicho sent back the legion, after the battle of Pollentia, into Britain, but it must have been there before 406, because we read of soldiers then choosing and deposing emperors in the island. Their presence must have been attended with its usual effect on the Picts¹⁷¹ and Scots¹⁷².

Before we state the next sentence of Gildas, it will be proper to narrate the incidents which,

¹⁷¹ The Picts are first mentioned by Eumenius, according to Usher, Primord. 586. Their origin is disputed. Stillingfleet derives them from Scandinavia, 246. Usher from the German Scythia, 578. Camden thought them the offspring of Britons. Brit. Int. 110. Whitaker, l. i. c. 12. s. 2. affirms, they were the Caledonians, Meatae and Deucalidones expressed by a more comprehensive appellation.—According to a MSS. de Situ Albaniae, published by Johnstone, Antiq. Celt. p. 136. the possessions of the Picts in North Britain were under seven kings: 1. From the Forth to the Tay; 2. from the Ila to the Mount Athrie; 3. from Ila to the Dee; 4. from the Dee to the Spee; 5. from the Spee to Mount Brein-Alban; 6. Muref and Ros; 7. Arre Gaithel, the part nearest Ireland.

¹⁷² Mr. Whitaker's opinion of the Scots is this: "Originally Britons of the south, who migrated from the western shore of Britain into Ireland, and afterwards passed from Ireland into Caledonia." Genuine Hist. of Brit. 289.—Usher, 586, says, they are first mentioned by Porphyry.—M^rPherson gives them a Caledonian extraction in his Introd. to the Hist. of Great Brit. which was the opinion impugned by Mr. Whitaker, but apparently countenanced by Mr. Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 526—529.



as he does not notice, though of principal importance, we may presume he never knew: they occurred between this last defeat of the Picts and Scots and the final departure of the Romans.

The unwearied genius of Claudian has refounded the praise of Stilicho in poetry, which, though sometimes defective in taste, yet has too much energy and felicity to perish. The acts which the general atchieved justify his bard, and raise the minister above his degenerate countrymen like a splendid column in a melancholy waste. But it may be said of human virtue, as Solon pronounced to Cræsus of human happiness, that we should wait until the life is closed before we pronounce decisively upon it. Stilicho for a while was the saviour of the Roman empire; he ended his career its most destructive scourge. The double dealing of his ambition excited invasions, which he wished to have the merit of repressing; it introduced the barbarian hordes into the provinces, who quitted them no more; it occasioned rebellions which completed the debility of the imperial government; and it paved the way for the complete extinction of the western empire.

Desolation
of Gaul.

When Alaric menaced Italy, Stilicho drove off the tempest; but he wanted to have his son
invested

invested with the imperial dignity, and he hoped to extort the concession from the trembling Honorius by the terror of impending evils. To effect this he excited the German nations to invade Gaul¹⁷³. Fatal contrivance of unprincipled ambition¹⁷⁴! A most formidable irruption of the tribes

¹⁷³ Orosius, l. 7. c. 38, and c. 40. and from him Isidorus, Wandal. Grotius, p. 732. expressly affirm the treason. Jerom Ep. ad Ager. exclaims against the semi-barbarian traitor, who armed against his adopted country its worst enemies. Prosper says, that *saluti imperatoris tendebat insidias*, p. 50.—Marcellinus more explicitly says of him, “*Spreto Honorio, regnumque ejus inhians, Alannorum, Suevorum, Wandalarum que gentes donis pecuniisque illicitas contra regnum Honorii excitavit, Eucherium filium suum pagani, et adversum Christianos insidias molientem, cupiens Cæsarem ordinare.* Chron. p. 37. added to Scaliger’s Euseb.—If these authors are not sufficient to make the imputation credible, the point seems to be decided by the evidence of a contemporary, who, being a pagan, gives more weight to an opinion in which he and the christians coincide; I mean Rutilius, whom Gibbon does not mention; he says,

Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,

Proditor arcani quod fuit imperii.

Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,

Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor:

Dumque timet, quidquid se fecerat ipse timeri,

Immisit Latæ barbara tela neci.

Visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem,

Illatæ cladis liberiore dolo.

Ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat,

Et captiva prius, quam caperetur, erat.

Itinerarium, l. 2. v. 41—50.

¹⁷⁴ Gibbon extends his Telamonian shield in defence of Stilicho, but the weight of evidence must pierce the protection. Du Bos, p. 190, accredits his guilt. How fatal the scheme was to Rome,

we

BOOK

I.

tribes between the Rhine and Danube, Alani, Suevi, Vandali, and many others, burst over the mountains, and deluged the western world. A portion of these, under Radagaisus, perished before Stilicho in Italy ¹⁷⁵, and furnished him with the laurels he coveted. The remainder crossed the Rhine, which, if the charge of treason be true, was purposely divested of its protecting troops, and overwhelmed Gaul and its vicinity. "The consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul; that rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars ¹⁷⁶."

406. Revolt of the troops in Britain. Constantine chosen.

This dreadful disaster spread consternation through Britain. Inflamed with their success, the barbarians menaced this island. It is expressly asserted by Zosimus, that their devasta-

we may judge, when we recollect, that "le dernière Decembre, 406, fut la journée funeste ou les barbares entrerent dans les Gaules, pour n'en plus sortir." Du Bos, 194.

¹⁷⁵ For the expedition of Radagaisus, see Gibbon, 163—173. and Mascon, 404—411.

¹⁷⁶ 3 Gibbon, 171.

tions

tions alarmed the army in Britain. Apprehensive of their further progress, and to exert an energy adequate to the crisis, the troops created an emperor for themselves. One Marcus was their first choice: finding his councils or his conduct insufficient for the exigency, they destroyed him, and elected Gratian, who is mentioned with the title of Municeps, in his room. Within four months afterwards he was murdered, and, induced by the flattering name, the British soldiery selected one Constantine from the ranks, and decorated him with the imperial garments ¹⁷⁷.

Constantine seems not to have been unworthy of his station; he passed out of Britain into Gaul, stayed a short time at Boulogne, conciliated to his interest the soldiers scattered upon the continent, and defeated the terrible barbarians ¹⁷⁸.

Constantine leaves Britain, 406.

The authority of Constantine was acknowledged in Gaul, and he reduced Spain. His son Constans laid aside the cowl of a monk, which, previous to his father's elevation, he had assumed ¹⁷⁹, and was created Cæsar. Honorius, to

406—411.

¹⁷⁷ Zosimus, l. 6. p. 373, and 371. Orosius, 7. 40.

¹⁷⁸ Zosimus, ib.

¹⁷⁹ Marcellin. Com. p. 38. Orosius, 7. 40. Jornandes, c. 32.

whom

whom Constantine had respectfully stated, that his dignity had been forced upon him, appeared to acquiesce in his retaining it, and sent him the imperial robes ¹⁸⁰. The barbarians obtained reinforcements, but Constantine adopted the precautionary measure of placing troops to guard the passages into Gaul ¹⁸¹.

During this division of the imperial power, Alaric again assembled a willing army, and appeared on the Roman frontier. The guilt of Stilicho had been detected and punished, and his death removed the last bulwark of the empire. The court of Honorius could furnish no other mind competent to confront the Gothic conqueror. In 408, he overwhelmed resistance and besieged Rome. A ransom obtained a short security, but determined his superiority. In the next year he assailed it again, and condescended to accept from an emperor of his own nomination the title of master general. Every doubt was now removed; he saw his irresistible power, and the succeeding summer was marked by the dismal catastrophe of a third siege and barbarian sack, whose ferocious horrors, though for barbarians not extreme ¹⁸², and perhaps outdone in

Aug. 24,
410.

¹⁸⁰ Zosim. l. 5. p. 359.

¹⁸¹ Zosim. p. 374.

¹⁸² 3 Gibbon, 241—244.

ANGLO-SAXONS.

FII

CHAP.
VIII.

a more civilized age at Magdeburgh ¹⁸³, yet entitle the perpetrators to universal execration. May mankind ever brand such atrocious scenes with indelible infamy and individual abhorrence, that the demon war, as long as it continues in the world, may be compelled to inflict its evils with humanity, and never dare to imitate the hyæna or the ruffian!

Among the officers attached to the interest of Constantine was Gerontius, who had proceeded from Britain. The valour and services of this person on former occasions are stated by the historians; but offended that Constans returned to Spain on his second visit with another as his general, the flighted Gerontius abandoned the interests of the emperor he had supported, and elevated a friend to dethrone him ¹⁸⁴. He pursued his new purpose with a fatal alacrity, besieged and slew Constans at Vienne ¹⁸⁵, and menaced the father with deposition. The troops of the legal emperor, Honorius, profited by the

¹⁸³ See this horrible massacre perpetrated by the orders of the savage Tilly, in Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus; and may every generous soldier never repeat his name but with that disgust and contempt which cruelty always excites in the noble mind!

¹⁸⁴ Zosim. 371. 373—375.

¹⁸⁵ Orosius, l. 7. Olympiodorus ap. Photium, 183. Marcellin. Chron. 38. Eusebius Chronicon, 412.

quarrel,

The barbarians attack Britain, 409.

quarrel, and destroyed the competition. Constantine was taken at Arles, and Gerontius was pursued to the confines of Spain; his house was besieged, and his resistance occasioned the assailants to set it on fire. The flames carried with them despair; his friend and wife received from his hands the death they implored, and he joined them in the tomb¹⁸⁶.

Amid this complexity of rebellion and sub-rebellion, the western provinces of the Roman state were sacrificed to the revenge of the military competitors. The crime which degraded all the merit of Stilicho was, from the same motives of pusillanimous selfishness, repeated by Gerontius. He also, to diminish the danger of his

¹⁸⁶ See the detail in Gibbon, iii. p. 259. I am tempted to imagine, that in drawing his Vortigern Jeffry has copied and distorted the Gerontius of the imperialists. Three particulars are alike in both, Vortigern was a British consul,—who rebelled against, and caused Conitans to be destroyed. Vortigern being afterwards besieged in the place to which he fled, and his pursuers finding they could not get an entrance, it was set on fire, l. 6. and l. 8. Gerontius proceeded from Britain, and was a comes or count; he revolted from Conitans, and caused his death, and he fled for refuge, and prevented his pursuers from entering his house, who therefore applied flames.—This observation would induce me to strike Vortigern entirely out of true history, but that I find a Gurthrigemus mentioned in Gildas, and a Gwrtheyrn in Taliessin. Their authority inclines me to believe, that Jeffry or Tyffilio has confounded Gerontius, who died in Spain, with Gwrtheyrn, in England, and given us a medley history of both, collected into the factitious character of Vortigern.

revolt

revolt, by his incitements and advice influenced into hostile invasion the barbarians who hovered near the Celtic regions¹⁸⁷. Melancholy to Rome was this desperate act of ambition. Constantine could not repel the torrent, because the flower of his army was in Spain¹⁸⁸. Britain and Gaul experienced all its fury. The cities of the island were invaded. To whatever quarter they applied for help, the application was vain. Honorius was trembling before Alaric, and Constantine could not even save Gaul. In this extremity the injured Britons displayed a magnanimous character; they remembered the ancient independance of the island, and their brave ancestors, who still lived ennobled in the verses of their bards: with wise and virtuous energy they armed themselves, threw off the foreign yoke, deposed the imperial magistrates, proclaimed their insular independance, and, with the successful valour of youthful liberty and endangered existence, they drove the fierce invaders from their cities¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁷ Zosimus, l. 6. p. 375. There was a severe imperial law in existence, made A.D. 323, which was applicable to these crimes of Gerontius and Stilicho: "Si quis barbaris scelerata factione factam depredationis in Romanos dederit, vel si quo alio modo factam deviserit, vivus amburatur." Cod. Theod. l. 7. tit. 1. But ambition is always blind to its punishment, and as heedless of laws as of morality.

¹⁸⁸ Zosimus, l. 6. p. 375.

¹⁸⁹ Zosimus, p. 376.

The sacred flame of national independance passed swiftly over the channel, and electrified Armorica. This maritime state, and its immediate neighbours, in the same crisis and from the same necessity, disclaimed the authority of a foreign emperor, and by their own exertions atchieved their own deliverance.

All these transactions escaped the knowledge of Gildas, and the confusion and calamities of the sixth century, in which he lived, sufficiently apologize for his ignorance; but as the omission, though not personally dishonourable to him, yet impeaches the correctness of the remainder of his historiola, we hope it will also excuse our presumption in mistrusting it. Having thus appropriated the lights which the imperial authors afford us, let us follow their direction, and examine by them the father of our history, so venerable for his age, but not so mature in historical erudition.

Having omitted all this important detail, Gildas starts from the defeat of the Picts and Scots, by the legion ¹⁹⁰ which came into Britain,
to

¹⁹⁰ This success, which I impute to the soldiers who chose Constantine emperor, has been usually attributed to troops dispatched by Ætius into Britain, under the command of Gallio of Ravenna, in 426; but for this the authorities only are two modern authors, Blondus, Decad. 1. l. 2. and Sabellicus, Ennead. 8. c. 1. who also ascribe

to replace that which Stilicho had recalled, and suddenly informs us, that the Romans again returned home. Before they quitted the island they declared, that they would harrafs themselves no more with such laborious expeditions, nor fatigue such an army for weak and vagrant pilferers; they exhorted the islanders to accustom themselves to arms, and by courageously fighting, to defend their land, property, families, liberty, and life, against people by no means superior to themselves; and that they should not meanly submit their hands to fetters, but wield their manly weapons against the invaders. Joining with the miserable natives, the Romans built a wall, not like the other, but in their own manner, across from sea to sea, between the cities, which perhaps were placed there from the fear of the

ascribe the first defeat, given by Stilicho, to other detachments of *Ætius*, in 422.—I confess that the opinion of *Sabellicus*, whose history, written at the end of the fifteenth century, *Bayle* says, *n'est pas fort estimé*, *Diët. Hist.* and of *Blondus*, who died 1463. *Fab. Bib. Med. i. p. 679*, has no weight with me, unless I knew the documents from which they took the circumstance.—How much foreign authors have mistaken our history we may judge from the instances of *Pomponius Lætus*, who makes the Britons invite *Vertigomarus*, king of the Angles, to help them against the *Picts* and *Scots*. *Hist. Rom. Scrip. ii. p. 580*; and of *Paulus Diaconus*, who declares that the suffering Britons invited to their aid *Anglico-rum gentes, cum suo rege Vertegemo*, l. 15. *Hist. Rom. vol. i. p. 669*. Let us not introduce *Sabellicus* and *Blondus* as authorities for our history!

enemies. They gave to the cowardly people
valorous advice and patterns of arms; and on
the southern coast of Britain, where their ships
lay, and thence the wild beasts of barbarism
were dreaded, they constructed towers at various
intervals in sight of the sea: they then bade
farewel, as if to return no more ¹⁹¹.

In this account three circumstances are erroneous. As, in a preceding section, he had accounted for one of our famous walls, in this he gives the origin of another. We can feel little doubt that Gildas was utterly ignorant of the chronology of their construction, and has given them a date, which he derives not from fact but from fancy. The truth was, that three walls were built in Britain by the Romans, for the purposes of military defence ¹⁹²; the first was Hadrian's rampart, built of earth, which, from the Solway firth, a little to the west of the village of Burgh on the Sands, extended as far as the river Tyne, on the east, to the place where Newcastle now stands. The inscriptions dug up assure us that it was the work of Roman soldiers.

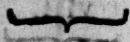
¹⁹¹ Gildas, sect. 14.

¹⁹² I take my description of the walls from Dr. Henry's excellent Dissertation on the Roman Walls in Britain, in his Appendix, N^o 9, vol. ii. p. 469, 8vo. edit. Dr. Henry's essay was drawn up from Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, a valuable collection of our antiquities.

The second wall was the rampart of Antonine Pius, between the firths of Forth and Clyde. It was also the performance of Roman soldiers, and the authentic monuments, still remaining, show by what particular bodies of Roman troops almost every part of it was executed.

The third, and a more important barrier than either of the others, was the wall of Severus. This was built nearly on the same tract with Hadrian's rampart, at the distance only of a few paces north. The length of this wall from Cousins house, near the mouth of the Tyne on the east, to Boulness on the Solway firth on the west, hath been found, from two actual mensurations, to have been a little more than sixty-eight English miles. It was built of solid stone strongly cemented; the height twelve feet, the breadth eight.

The walls of Hadrian and Severus are those which Gildas ignorantly builds in the fifth century. Bede, who was better versed in the Roman history than Gildas, knew of the wall of Severus; he places it where he also fixes the wall of Gildas. This brings the question to a speedy issue. The wall of Gildas standing by the wall of Severus, Bede attests to have been in his time *famosum et conspicuum*, its height twelve



feet, its breadth eight, and visible to all¹⁹³. Of this wall, extant in the time of Bede, much has continued to later times, and from its ruins a great number of small square stones have been taken, inscribed with the name of Roman legions, cohorts, and centuries. Now we know from the Notitia, that ten thousand troops were regularly stationed upon it, and we have already seen, that if they left it in 402 they had returned before 406. Let then every reader peruse the description of this stupendous work, sixty-eight miles long, with its eighteen stations, eighty-one castles, three hundred and twenty-one turrets, and two military ways paved with square stones in the most solid manner, and ask his common sense if it could have all flown away at once after the year 409, in order to let the stupid Britons soon after build one of turf in its stead, and to give a Roman legion, who came on a hasty visit, the trouble of making a stronger one of stone.

¹⁹³ Bede, l. 1. c. 12. This author had learnt from Orosius, l. 7. c. 17, that Severus built a wall in Britain; where this stood he found a rampart and a wall; ignorant that the rampart was built by Hadrian, he gives it (the vallum) to Severus, and the wall to Gildas's legion. Equally ignorant that Antoninus Pius had built the other wall, he gives that to Gildas's Britons. Had Bede known of the works of Hadrian and Antonine, or had Orosius mentioned them, instead of transcribing, he would have corrected Gildas.

If it be urged, that some breaches in it may have been repaired ¹⁹⁴ in the fifth century, the possibility is admitted; but this will not rescue Gildas from the charge of ignorance; for he affirms that it was then constructed.

Another trait in his description arraigns his knowledge: he says, it was built from sea to sea, between the cities, which, perhaps, had been placed there from the fear of the enemy. He did not know that, for the express purpose of defence, the Romans built on the wall stations for the residence of their garrisons. Without the wall of each station was a town, inhabited by labourers, artificers, and others, who chose to dwell under the protection of these fortresses ¹⁹⁵. The wall was not, therefore, built between previous cities. What he calls cities were the most essential parts of the great bulwark.

¹⁹⁴ Fordun, p. 627, talks of the Picts and Scots boring holes in the wall, which was thence called Thirlit wall; and Usher states, that Thirlwall castrum adhuc cernitur in Northumbriæ et Cumbriæ confinio positum. Addenda, 1028. Thirlwal Castle, no large structure, gave a seat and surname to the ancient and honourable family of the Wades; and the place was wisely enough chosen, as having no intercourse of rivers to obstruct their easy inroad into the very bowels of England. Camden, 848. It lies a little to the north-east of Carlisle. But this does not prove that the Romans repaired these breaches, because Fordun, the authority, places them after the final retreat of the Romans.

¹⁹⁵ Henry, p. 480.

The third erroneous circumstance is, that this departing legion erected castles on the south coast of Britain. He knew that such castles existed when he wrote; but he knew as little how they came there, as he did of the wall. The truth is, that these military defences had long been made to protect the island from the invasions of the Saxons. This part of our maritime coast had been, before the period of Gildas, named the Saxon shore; these castles were under the command of an officer, entitled *comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam* ¹⁹⁶, and a definite number of troops had been regularly stationed there ¹⁹⁷, which the *Notitia* enumerates, and which are recorded as part of the general military appointments of the empire. If Gildas is correct, some earthquake must have also swallowed up these, to oblige his departing legion with the labour of their reconstruction.

The inaccuracy of Gildas in these substantial facts will justify our interpreting the other paragraphs of his narration, rather by the aid of

¹⁹⁶ *Notitia Dignitatum Imp. Rom.* f. 34. 38.

¹⁹⁷ *Notitia Dig.* f. 52.

Præpositus numeri Fortensium Othonæ.

Præpositus militum Tungricanorum Dubris (Dover), and others at Lemannis (Lime), Branoduno (Brancafter), Gariannonō (Borough Castle), Regulbio (Reculver), Rutupis (Richborough), Anderidæ (Newhaven), Portu Adurni (Portsmouth).

the

the classical authors, than according to his literal expressions.

When Constantine was made emperor, he went from Britain into Gaul. As he had very powerful and furious enemies to coerce, there can be no doubt that, like Maximus, he carried with him all the troops in Britain. May we not interpret the *patria reversi* of Gildas to imply the departure of the troops under Constantine; if so, the chronology of this event will be A. D. 407.

The next section of Gildas contains a picture, composed like an absurd caricature, rather for our diversion than our instruction.

When the Romans had departed, the *tetriges*, the hideous herds of the Scots and Picts, differing in manners, but alike in their avidity to shed blood; their *furciferos vultus*, their villainous countenances more covered with hair than their bodies with garments; these men, emerging from their currachs, confidently seize all the northern and extreme part of the island up to the wall: on this was the garrison; a set of men slow to fight, unable to fly; silly beings with trembling hearts, who on their stupid seats wasted away their flesh day and night. In the mean time, the hooked darts thrown up from chains

chains were incessant, by which the most miserable citizens, drawn from the walls, were dashed upon the ground ¹⁹⁸.

What a picture for Hogarth to exhibit! A set of hairy half-naked savages, grim as any thieftakers, throwing up their chained weapons incessantly without the wall, while on this side sit a parcel of timid, trembling, consumptive wretches, like so many shaking mandarins, waiting stupidly for the hooks to rear them into the air, and to brain them on the ground. Shall we honour this with the name of history?

The pencil of the Cambrian sage works on: They, who quickly perished in this sort of immature death, escaped the miserable woes imminent on their brethren and children. Why should I say more? The cities, the lofty wall again abandoned, they fly—a dispersion ensues, more desperate than ever—the pursuits of the enemy follow—again more cruel slaughters accumulate, and as lambs are by butchers cut up, so are the pitiable citizens by their enemies, till their residence becomes like that of wild beasts; for they tear each other to pieces, while the wretched citizens are robbed for a small pittance of scanty food. The desolations by foreigners are

¹⁹⁸ Gildas, sect. 15.

augmented

augmented by domestic commotions, till by the frequent devastations the whole country, *omnis regio*, became void of all food but that of hunting.

Then the miserable relics again send letters to Agitius, a man of Roman power, saying, "To Agitius, thrice a consul, the groans of the Britons."—The letters added, "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians. Between these, two sorts of death arise; we are drowned, or we are massacred."

No help came. Then a dire and most famous famine fastened on the vagabonds, which compelled many to give their manacled hands to the ferocious robbers to get a little food; others would not, but from their mountains, caves, and woods and thickets, continually rebelled.

Then, not trusting in men, but in God, they first slaughter their enemies, after being many years in their land¹⁹⁹!!!.

Such is the account presented to us as the genuine history of this period. Let it be known, that it stands in the authority of Gildas alone. Let us recollect what the imperial writers have transmitted to us; and let us believe it according as each finds it palatable.

¹⁹⁹ Gildas, sect. 16, 17, 18.

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The authentic history from 407 is, that in 409 the barbarians, excited by Gerontius, burst in terror upon Gaul and Britain; that Constantine could give no help, because his troops were in Spain; that Honorius could send none, because Alaric was overpowering Italy; that the Britons, thus abandoned, armed themselves, declared their country independent, and drove the barbaric invaders from their cities; that Honorius sent letters to the British states, exhorting them to protect themselves²⁰⁰; and that the Romans never again recovered the possession of the island²⁰¹.

To these authentic facts we know not how to adapt the mourning ignorance of Gildas. We must not forget, that he who has left us such an account of men sitting on the wall to be pulled

²⁰⁰ Zosimus, l. 6. p. 381. *φωλάρτες δαι*.

²⁰¹ The Abbe Du Bos, Hist. Crit. 211. and Mr. Gibbon, iii. 275. agree in placing the defection and independance of Britain in 409. The words of Procopius are express, that the Romans never recovered Britain, l. 1. p. 9. Grot.—Prosper, in his Chronicon, intimates as much. In the year before the fall of Constantine, he says, *Hac tempestate, præ valetudine Romanorum, vires funditus attenuatæ Britanniaë*, p. 50. Scal. Euseb.—Bede, though he afterwards copies Gildas with mistaken chronology, yet, l. 1. c. 11. after mentioning the capture of Rome by Alaric, adds, *ex quo tempore Romani in Britannia regnare cessarunt*, after having reigned in it 470 years since Cæsar. Now in c. 2. he says, *Cæsar came 60 ant. Chr.* therefore according to Bede, in this passage, the Romans lost the government of Britain by the year 410.

down; of the British nation cut up by the Picts and Scots, like sheep by butchers; of the country becoming but the residence of wild animals; of the silly letter sent to Ætius, stating that they were drowned or massacred; of part of the natives enslaving themselves to the barbarians to get victuals; of the remainder turning robbers on mountains, caves, and woods; has also declared that the Britons, whom the Romans for near four centuries civilized, could not build a wall, nor make arms without patterns²⁰²; has stated nothing of the emperors, or transactions after Maximus; and has ascribed the walls of Hadrian and Severus to the fifth century, and the castles of the Saxon shore, to a legion quitting Britain for ever. “If we have not searched
“the Magellanic regions, let us however forbear
“to people them with Patagons²⁰³; if we know
“little of this ancient period, let us not fill the
“vacuity with Gildas.”

Yet it is not right to be too eager to erect an individual opinion in opposition to the authority of any ancient author, because all speculation is dangerous in history. Let us then, first, submit

²⁰² Gildas, f. 12. and f. 14.

²⁰³ Johnson's Tour to the Western Islands, p. 277, a masterly pattern for the composition of travels.

BOOK
I.

to the general judgment, how far the account of Gildas is or is not a disguising and distorted narration of the events alluded to, though with a brevity we lament, by Zosimus, who perhaps has comprized, in his last sentences, the incidents of years. If this idea be rejected, and some foundation for the paragraphs of Gildas be believed to have existed, let us consider what part can have been true. We certainly cannot, from the declamation of Gildas alone, build up any authentic history. As far as he can be supported and made intelligible by others, he is an acceptable companion; when the imperialists leave him, he totters blindly like a feeble dotard, who loves to be querulous and censorious, but who is too ignorant and too loquacious to be accurate.

CHAP. IX.

*The Period between the Departure of the Romans
and the Invasion of the Saxons.*

WHEN Zosimus quits the history of Britain, he leaves the natives in a state of independance on Rome, so generally armed as to have achieved the exploits of Roman soldiers, and to have driven the invaders from their cities. The governing powers of the island seem to have been at that period, the civitates or the territorial districts, because the emperor would of course have written to the predominant authority. This was the state of the island in or after the year 410, and to this we may add from others, that the Romans never regained the possession of it ²⁰⁴.

CHAP.
IX.

Our

²⁰⁴ Mr. Camden makes Britain return to the subjection of Honorius, and to be happy for awhile under Victorinus, who governed the province, and put a stop to the inroads of the Picts and Scots. *Introduct.* 85. Henry, l. i. c. i. p. 119. 8vo. enlarges still more; he states, that after the death of Constantine, Britain returned to the obedience of Honorius, who sent Victorinus with some troops for its recovery and defence. This general struck terror into all his enemies in this island; but the increasing distresses of the empire obliged Honorius

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Our first question seems to be, did they attempt to reconquer Britain? The answer to this will be, that we have evidence that they assailed the liberties of Armorica²⁰⁵, but none that they contested with the Britons the enjoyment of their independence.

The Britons, who had been strong enough to repulse from their island the barbarians who had overflowed Gaul, or who had taken advantage of that calamity to molest them, could not have been subdued without a serious invasion. Even the exposed and inferior Armorica maintained

to recal Victorinus, and all his troops from the island.—What is the authority for this circumstantial detail? Audite judices! Rutilius, in his journey in Italy about 416, takes occasion to compliment Victorinus on his former honours. In this friendly digression he says, the ferox Britannus knew his virtues, whom he had governed so as to excite their attachment. *Itiner.* 499. p. 14. ed. Amst. Whether he governed it under Theodosius or Honorius is not said. That he could have no command of troops is certain, because the vicarius or governor was a civil officer. The act of his government, according to Rutilius, was not then a recent thing, but at some distance, because he adds another event, which, he says, lately happened, “*illustis nuper sacræ comes additus aulæ* ;” marking this honour as a recent event in 416, implies, that the others were not recent; hence there is no reason to place him in Britain after 409.

²⁰⁵ Du Bos, *Hist. Crit.* p. 213. thinks, that the revolt of Armorica contributed more than any other event to establish la monarchie Française in Gaul. Armorica comprehended five of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. On its struggles for liberty, see Du Bos, and 1 Mafcou, 453. 476. also 3 Gibbon, 275.—It had afterwards many unfavourable conflicts with the Franks. *Greg. Tours.* l. 4 & 5. *Freculphus*, t. 2. c. 22.

a vigorous

a vigorous resistance; but the dismal aspect of the Roman state, during the fifth century, coincides with the absolute silence of authors to prove that the Romans forbore to invade the British independence.

The majesty of the Capitol had departed; the world no longer crouched in awful submission before it; and even its own subjects are said to have rejoiced over its ruin. The Goths conquered Spain; a rebel arose from the tomb of Honorius; another general repeated the treason of Stilicho, and the terrible Genferic embarked with his Vandals against Africa: even Ætius was a subject of dubious fidelity; at the head of 60,000 barbarians he extorted his dignity; he maintained his connection with the Huns and Alaric, and had to withstand the Franks and Suevi. The son of Alaric besieged Narbonne, the Belgic provinces were invaded by the Burgundians, and the desolating Attila at last burst upon Gaul ²⁰⁶. Vulnerable in every part, and assaulted in most, how could the unwieldy leviathan, with its strength enervated by luxury, and embarrassed by faction, repel all its vivacious foes, whom every failure or success alike stimulated to new enterprizes, and whose endless num-

²⁰⁶ See Gibbon, iii. p. 262—271, and 327—432.

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bers arched their devoted prey with a hemisphere of hostility.

But whatever was the cause which induced Honorius to permit; or withheld his successors from molesting, the independance of Britain, it was an event which promised to be profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight to every class of its inhabitants. The Romans had, in the beginning of their conquests in Britain, from motives of self-preservation, endeavoured to civilize it. When by their incentives the national mind had been diverted from habits of warfare to the enjoyments of luxury and the pursuits of commerce, the natives shared in the prosperity, the vices, and the institutions of the governing empire. At the end of the fourth century they must have also participated in the evils which distant provinces always endure from a weak or negligent administration, and which it is particularly attested to us that the western provinces then experienced.

It is impossible to read of the distresses which arose from the uncontrolled rapacity of the officers of the revenue, and the corrupt inequality of their arbitrary impositions, without feeling the advantages which the independance of the island must have imparted to the inhabitants. The
state

state of the population of Gaul has been painted to us by a contemporary, and in that we may contemplate the miseries of Britain; it is a striking panegyric on that government, which entrusts the regulation of the revenue to the representative branch, and not to the caprice or corruption of unprincipled agents.

“ The weight of oppression generates two
 “ consequences; it excites the people to aspire
 “ at liberty, and it prevents them from obtain-
 “ ing it; they dread foreign enemies less than
 “ their tax-gatherers. It is the inequality of
 “ the impositions, which makes their severity so
 “ poignant. The just burthens of the rich are
 “ laid upon the poor. Judge from what they
 “ pay, and you would think them rich; look at
 “ what they possess, and you will see that they
 “ are miserable; the indigent are assessed as if
 “ they were wealthy; the taxes laid upon the
 “ rich are levied from the poor. To the most
 “ barbarous nations this injustice is unknown;
 “ hence, they whom the Goths have subdued
 “ wish never to return to the Roman admini-
 “ stration.

State of the
 Roman
 provinces.

“ Can we then wonder at the success of these
 “ nations. People migrate from every quarter
 “ to some of these states, and they do not re-



“pent the change: they choose rather to live
 “free in the appearance of captivity, than to re-
 “main enslaved under the semblance of liberty;
 “hence the name of Roman citizen, once so
 “prized and so purchased, is shunned and de-
 “spised; they who do not actually fly to the
 “barbarians are compelled to be such in their
 “hearts. In this state is a great part of Spain,
 “and no small part of Gaul. Indeed, the
 “Roman iniquity has compelled the Roman
 “world to be no longer Romans ²⁰⁷.”

The Ba-
 gaudæ.

A more striking feature of the distress of the Roman provinces cannot be given than in the assertion that the Bagaudæ ²⁰⁸, a sort of military robbers who infested the country, were composed of Roman citizens, compelled by every oppression to desert their country and their duties. “Are
 “not people made Bagaudæ by our iniquities,
 “by the dishonesty of our judges, by the rapine

²⁰⁷ This is the substance of some passages in Salvianus de Gubern. Dei, 5. Magn. Biblioth. Patrum, p. 90—94. He was an ecclesiastic of Marseilles. Du Bos, i. 333—339. gives the extracts with a very liberal French translation.

²⁰⁸ Scaliger has a note on the Bagaudæ, Animad. Euseb. 243. Bagat, in the Armoric, is a troop or crew. Lhuyd Archæol. 196. Bagach in Irish, is warlike. Ib. Bagach in Erse, is fighting. Shaw's Dict. in voc. Bagad in Welch, is multitude. Owen's Dictionary. Ducange mentions *Caçusien*, vagare, and Boguedim, Hebrew for rebellis. Glos. Med. Lat. i. p. 432. See their history in Du Cange, ib. and Du Bos, p. 204.

“and proscriptions of those who collect in the
“name of the public revenue, and pervert it to
“their own purposes ²⁹⁹.”

These observations may satisfy us, that the Britons, once independant, armed, and victorious over their barbarian invaders, would not court the return of the Roman yoke ; therefore every narration, which states, that they offered unconditional subjection to the Roman empire, after their independance, is marked with such extreme improbability, that the most clear, unequivocal, and determinate assertion of the fact by a faithful historian, can alone give it credence.

When we proceed to inquire into the events which followed the emancipation of Britain, the first question which naturally occurs to us is, on the government which the natives substituted to the imperial institutions.

But this question, so interesting to all who recollect how often occasions have arisen of forming a good government, and how often, from the vices of human nature, they have passed away without improvement, cannot be certainly answered. The silence of antiquity has covered the

²⁹⁹ Salvian, ubi supra, adds much more to the same effect. Du Bos has appended some judicious remarks, which no statesmen should forget, p. 339.

subject with the mist of its thickest obscurity; every attempt to elucidate it is like travelling upon ice; the true path is not discernible, and our most careful progress is but arbitrary and insecure.

Britain, under the Romans, contained two municipia, nine colonia, ten civitates possessing the *Latio jure*, twelve stipendaria, besides many other towns²¹⁰. It was usual with the Romans to partition their conquests into districts, called *civitates*. In Gaul, during the fifth century, there were one hundred and fifteen civitates; each of these had its capital city, in which resided a senate, whose jurisdiction extended over all the *pagi* which composed the territory of the *civitas*²¹¹. Now if the seventeen provinces of Gaul had one hundred and fifteen civitates, the five provinces of Britain, which were as flourishing, might reasonably have had thirty-three, which is the number of the great towns enumerated by Richard.

Civitates
of Britain.

We are, therefore, to consider Britain, in the latter periods of the Roman residence, divided into thirty-three civitates, of which thirty were

²¹⁰ Richard, p. 111. *Antiq. Celto-Scand.*

²¹¹ Du Bos, i. p. 2.

in England and Wales. The chief towns were²¹²:

Municipia :	Latio jure donatæ :	Stipendariæ :
Verolamium,	Durnomagus,	Venta Silurum,
Eboracum.	Catarracton,	Venta Belgarum,
Coloniæ :	Cambodunum,	Venta Icenorum,
Londineium,	Coccium,	Segontium,
Camalodunum,	Luguballia,	Muridunum,
Rhutupis,	Ptoroton,	Ragæ,
Thermæ,	Victoria,	Cantiopolis,
Ifca Secunda,	Theodofia,	Durinum,
Deva Getica,	Corinum,	Ifca,
Glevum,	Sorbiodunum.	Bremenium,
Lindum,		Vindonum,
Camboricum.		Durobrovæ.

In each of these principal towns the offices of power and dignity belonging to each civitas were made residuary; the duumviri, senates, decurions, curiæ, and ediles. These civitates were arranged under five provinces, two of which were governed by consulares and three by prefides. Above these provincial magistrates a vicarius extended his over-ruling authority, subordinate only to a prætorian præfect, with whom the emperor preserved an immediate communication²¹³.

The vicarius and the provincial magistrates, or the consulares and prefides, were foreigners.

²¹² Richard, ubi sup. See the modern names in Mr. Whitaker's Manchester, vol. ii. 330—379.

²¹³ 2 Gibbon, 32—38. Notitia, c. 49.

With such a jealous hand did Rome maintain her empire, that no native was suffered to enjoy, in any case, the provincial administration; nor could the provincial officers, or their children, marry with a native, or purchase territorial property, slaves, or houses ²¹⁴. On the other hand, the municipal officers of the civitates seem to have been natives.

It was a point carefully guarded by law, that the officers of one civitas should not interfere with any other; hence the edict, that no duumviri should with impunity extend the power of their fasces beyond the bounds of their own civitas ²¹⁵. The decurions served for the civitas of their nativity; and it was ordered, if to avoid the office any withdrew to another civitas, that he should be made to serve in both ²¹⁶.

We may, therefore, conceive England and Wales, in the fifth century, divided into thirty independant civitates, governed by native officers originating from each civitas. The imperial magistrates, whom Zosimus mentions that they deposed, were most likely the vicarius, the consulares, and the presides; and on their depo-

²¹⁴ 2 Gibbon, p. 39.

²¹⁵ Cod. Theod. l. 12. tit. 1. f. 174.

²¹⁶ Cod. Theod. l. 12. tit. 1. f. 12.

fition the island, as far as it was possessed by the Britons, would naturally divide into thirty independant republics; or, if this number be incorrect, into as many separate republics as there were civitates: that this event did happen we have a sort of evidence in the circumstance that Honorius addressed his letters to the civitates of Britain.

But in addition to these civil powers the influence of the ecclesiastical must be taken into consideration. In Gaul, therefore most probably in Britain, every civitas had a bishop²¹⁷, and every province had a superior bishop, answerable to our metropolitans, though not distinguished with the title of archbishop. The bishops had some power, and from this enjoyed much consideration and credit in every district. The people in general were in two divisions, the free and the servile.

Thus far the few facts left to us fairly extend. Independant Britain, after the year 410, was divided into thirty independant republics or civitates; each of these was governed by chief magistrates or duumviri, a senate, subordinate officers called decurions, an inferior senate called curiæ, with other necessary officers. The eccle-

²¹⁷ Du Bos, i. p. 14.

fiastical concerns were regulated by a bishop in each, whose power sometimes extended into lay concerns.

But how long, is it probable, that thirty independant civitates would continue in peace with each other? How long would the natives of each be contented with the legal power of the offices to which they were called, quietly lay down the fasces at the end of the year if duumviri, or if senators seek no more authority than belonged to their official acts, or if inferiors aspire not unduly to an elevation of condition. The accidents of human life would not fail to involve disputes of jurisdiction between one civitas and others, and mankind generally are eager to determine their differences by force. We cannot doubt that no long interval would ensue before civil discord pervaded the island, nor that this would terminate in the predominance of military tyrants, because, in that most dreadful of all evils, civil fury, it is the sword which eventually prevails.

Hence the tranquillity of Britain must be limited to the first æra of its liberties. To that auspicious hour when the morning of independance arose to bless the favoured island a gloomy period succeeded. The demons of ambition, selfishness

selfishness and factious turbulence, hastened with all their clouds and tempests to deform the glorious day; successful was their witchcraft; an aceldama of civil murder was created by their exertions, and their direful iniquity was terminated by inviting into the island a foreign enemy.

The lamentations of Gildas concur with the obscure intimations of Nennius to prove, that a considerable part of the interval between the emancipation of the island and the arrival of the Saxons was occupied in the contests of ambitious partizans.

Civil discord in the island.

“The country,” says Gildas, “though weak against its foreign enemies, was brave and unconquerable in civil warfare. Kings were appointed, but not by God; they who were more cruel than the rest attained to the high dignity.”

With as little right or expediency as they derived their power they lost it. “They were killed, not from any examination of justice, and men more ferocious still were elected in their place. If any happened to be more virtuous or mild than the rest, every degree of hatred and enmity was heaped upon them²¹⁸.” The clergy partook of the contentions of the day.

²¹⁸ Gildas, sect. 19.

He

He renews this picture in his address to the British kings who had survived the Saxon invasion, and though his expressions are not elucidated by an historical detail, they make us feel strongly the expression of St. Jerome, "Britain, a province fertile in tyrants," and the assertion of Procopius, that it remained a long time under its tyrants²¹⁹.

If the third invasion of the Picts, stated by Gildas, be not the last attack of the barbarians, mentioned by Zosimus, but a subsequent affair; if there be any truth in their exaggerated devastations, and in the application to Ætius, the account of the civil wars which succeeded the Roman departure give some intelligibility to the questionable narration. We can conceive, that when the strength of the country was not directed to its protection, but was wasted in civil conflicts, the hostilities of the Picts and Scots may have met with much success; not opposed by the force of the whole island, but by the local power of the particular civitas or district invaded, they may have defeated the opposition, and desolated the land of the northern borderers: with equal success, from the same

²¹⁹ Procop. Hist. Vandal, l. 1. sed mansit ab eo tempore sub
 τυραννισι.—2 Jerom ad Ctes. Britannia provincia fertilis tyrannorum.
 3 Gibb. 277. 1 Masc. 516.

cause, the western regions of Britain may have been plundered by the Scots, and the southern by the Saxons. Some of the maritime states, abandoned by their more powerful countrymen, may have sought the aid of Ætius, as they afterwards accepted that of the Saxons; but we think the account of Gildas applicable only to particular districts, and not to the whole island.

These contests seem at last to have produced a great cluster of regal chiefs within the island. We hear of a king of Devonshire, a king of Kent, a king of Glastonbury, a king of Cumbria, the kings of Deira and Bernicia, several contemporary kings of Wales, and others, about the time of the Saxons²²⁰. We find Malgocune styled by Gildas the dethroner of many tyrants, and Nennius mentions the Saxons to have fought, and Arthur to have marched with the kings of the Britons²²¹. But this succession of tyrants is only known to us by casual intimation, and by the crimsoned denunciations of Gildas. They appear in their rest of obscurity like the distant wood at the last refractions of the de-

²²⁰ See Gildas, Ep. p. 10. Nennius, p. 107. Talieffin. Jones Relics, 18 & 11. Caradoc Llanc. ap. Usher, 469.

²²¹ Multorum tyrannorum depulsor. Gildas, 12. Artur pug-nabat contra Saxones cum regibus Britonum. Nennius. 114.

parted

parted sun: we beheld only a dark mass of gloom, in which we can trace no shapes and distinguish no individuals.

The catastrophe of the detestable act of ambition seems to have been, that at the period of the Saxon invasion one tyrant predominated over the rest; the proud Gurthrigern, as Gildas names him, or Gwrtheyrn, according to the verse of Talieffin²²²:

“ They tread among us since Gwrtheyrn’s time

“ No justice can be had in lands of discord.”

Some traces of his descent exist, but they are barren of any biographical notices²²³.

But although this Gwrtheyrn had towered in the bloody field above his competitors, his throne was as insecure as that of every usurping power. It is the incessant course of providence, that although guilt may succeed in its machinations, its enjoyments are sternly prohibited by the shapeless spectres of dread and alarm, which are daily and nightly flitting before it. Amid the

²²² Owen’s Welch Dict. voc. Angharant. Ethelwerd, 834. writes, Wurthgern. Cambrian authors have Gurtheyrn. Lhywd, Archæol. 254, 256, 257.

²²³ Nennius, 112. says, Mac Guortheneu, M’Guitaul, M’Guitolin, M’Ap Gloui. Gloui built Gloucester, Caer Gloui.—The annotator on Nennius, p. 129. suspects Gwrtheyrn to have been a Pict, and to have acquired his power by the help of the Picts!

scenes of festivity or of dignity, the demon of suspicion sits down, an unbidden but inseparable guest; he points to the dismal gulphs, which, wherever the proud criminal turns his eye, are always yawning before him; nor does he warn of events which befall not. Fortunately for human virtue, crime stimulates other crimes into action, until vice is terrified into flight, and mankind are moralised by their misery.

In obedience to this salutary law, the competition of Ambrosius, or, as the Welch authors style him, Emrys Wledig, existed to intimidate and punish Gwrtheyrn ²²⁴. Of this prince we know little; he was brave, modest, and sincere; probably of Roman parentage. His relations had enjoyed the royal dignity, but had perished in the hurricane of the day ²²⁵. He seems to have survived and succeeded Gwrtheyrn ²²⁶. He

Ambro-
sius.

²²⁴ Urgebatur a metu Piclorum Scotorumque, et a Romano impetu, nec non et a timore Ambrosii. Nennius, 105. The Triades record him, Jones Relics, p. 80.

²²⁵ Gildas, l. 25. Viro modesto, fidelis, fortis, verax, forte Romanæ gentis, parentibus purpura indutis. Jeffry makes Constantine his father, l. 6. c. 5; but the classics only mention two sons of Constantine, Constans and Julian, who both fell. Gratian Municeps had the purple as well as Constantine.

²²⁶ Nennius, c. 52. p. 112. Jeffry gives a splendid account of his actions, and delivers Hengist into his hands, and Osta the son of Hengist, l. 8. c. 7. c. 8. The original of Jeffry states, that Gildas wrote of him. Owen, voc. Dielis. By Gildas, the ancient authors mean Nennius.

Civil feuds
continue.

was a strenuous opponent of the Saxons, and the little progress of Hengist implies that his opposition was not fruitless.

The British history after Gwrtheyrn and Emrys Wledig presents a continuation of the disastrous scenes of quarrelsome ambition. Medrawd occasioned the destruction of Arthur. Morgant procured the assassination of Urien Reged at the very juncture when he was pursuing the Angles out of Bernicia. The British princes are arraigned by the angry Gildas for their civil dissensions, and the Welch Triades hold up to disgrace many names who gratified their enmity against some illustrious men by the arm of violence. There were many other internal contests, which the wasteful sword was employed to decide. It would have been a miracle in war if such a country had repelled the Saxons. It suffered the fate which it deserved.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Arrival of Hengist.—His Transactions with the Britons.—The Settlement of the Anglo-Saxons in Eight Governments.

THE incidents, which we have endeavoured to authenticate as actual occurrences in Britain from the year 409, were, the armed independence of the island; the defeat of the barbarian invaders; the establishment of many free civitates; the consequent civil feuds between some or all of these; the successful local irruptions of the Picts in the north, and the Scots and Saxons in the west; the rise of many kings in various parts of the island; the preponderance of one, named Gwrtheyrn, and the competition of Ambrosius against him.

CHAP.
I.

L

For

For all these events we have undoubted evidence. Zosimus attests the assertion of the British independence, and the expulsion of the invaders. Procopius, Prosper, Bede, and Nennius¹, agree in the continuance of the British emancipation. The letters of Honorius justify the supposition of the free civitates, and other evidence proves their previous existence as a sub-provincial division of the island. The civil feuds, so probable, are expressly declared by Gildas in unequivocal language, and he is supported by an ancient Welch bard², and by the tenor of the true contemporary history. The occasional success of the northern Picts in their vicinity is a concession we make to Gildas, to give some credibility to a confused and exaggerated part of his narration, and the actual success of

¹ After the Romans had prevailed for 449 years, Nennius adds, "*Britones autem, propter gravitatem imperii, occidebant duces Romanorum,*" f. 27. He had before stated, *Britones deiecerant regnum Romanorum, neque censum illis dederunt, neque reges eorum acceperunt ut regnarent super eos, neque Romani ausi sunt ut venirent in Britanniam amplius ad regnandum, quia duces eorum Britones occiderant,* f. 25. I consider the duces so slain as answering to the ejected magistratibus Romanis of Zosimus, l. 6. p. 376.

² The *Arymes Prydain Vawr* (an important relic of Welch genius, published with a translation in the last *Cambrian Register*) in reciting the events at the Saxons' first arrival, mentions, among other features, commotion in every tribe, and the contentions of the mighty men, p. 554, 555.

the Scoti or Gwyzzelians³, is attested by Talieffin, and by the Triades⁴, as the contemporary hostilities of the Saxons are by Bede⁵. The rise of many kings is evidenced by those who are recorded to have existed in various parts of the island at this period. The preponderance of Gwrtheyrn is attested by Gildas, Nennius, Ethelwerd, the immortal Welch bards⁶ (whose genius shone in a highly cultivated language, while their country was covered with shrouds and blood, and all Europe was lapsing into ignorance), by Jeffry, and the consent of all subsequent chronographers. The competition of Ambrosius is asserted by Nennius and by Jeffry⁷.

³ The Irish are so called by Talieffin and the Welch bards. See Mr. Owen's important Welch Dict. voc. Cad, acludaw, atwlyd, dihez; also in his 4th part, lately published, voc. Gwyzel.

⁴ The Gwytyl Fichti are commemorated in the Triades, Camb. Regist. 1796, p. 11. to have made a successful invasion before the Saxons came, and to have settled.—A poem of Talieffin mentions Fichti as among the Morini Brythen, or the inhabitants of Dorsetshire, when the Angles came. See the Camb. Register, p. 6. These Morini may have requested aid of Ætius on such an invasion.

⁵ Before the Saxons came, Bede, l. 1. c. 20. mentions the victory of St. Germain over the Saxons and Picts in Flintshire.

⁶ Besides Talieffin already cited, Golyzan, in his Arymes Prydain, mentions him, and nearly with the orthography of the Saxon Ethelwerd, Wrtheyrn. Camb. Reg. 1796, p. 556.—Ethelwerd, p. 833. Wrthern qui tum rex super omnes habebatur, cui concessit tota nobilitas.

⁷ Nennius first exhibits Ambrosius as a boy, ad campum Elesti in regione Glevising, p. 108. and adds, that a Roman consul was his father, p. 110.

HISTORY OF THE

The predominance of Gwrtheyrn is placed in the year 426, by a very respectable Welch chronology, compiled in the end of king John's reign⁸. A Welch bard entitles him of Gwynez, or North Wales⁹. Jeffry makes him a consul of the Gewissens¹⁰, or of the people where the Saxons erected the kingdom of Wesssex. Nennius says, he fled with his magi to Gwynez¹¹, and built there a town. This information reconciles the others. It is probable that Gwrtheyrn was in the south or west of England¹².

⁸ This was preserved in the 256th page of the Red Book of Hergest, and is printed in the valuable Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 313. It places 128 years between the battle of Baden, in 554, and the time of Gwrtheyrn; this gives us the year 426. This year makes a period of 17 years between him and the expulsion of the Roman magistrates.

⁹ Golyzan in Camb. Reg. 556.—Z in Welch denotes the sound th.

¹⁰ Jeffry, l. 6. c. 6.

¹¹ Ipse cum magis suis ad sinistralem partem pervenit, et usque ad regionem quæ vocatur Guennesi affugit, et urbem quæ vocatur nomine suo Cair Guorthigirn ædificavit. Nennius, s. 44. p. 110.

¹² This circumstance makes an incident mentioned by Jeffry somewhat probable; he says, l. 6. c. 7. that Vortigern, meditating crimes of ambition, invited 100 Pictish soldiers into the household, who promoted his end. As the Fichti obtained a settlement in Dorsetshire, if Gwrtheyrn lived in the adjacent parts, he may have got some of them to join him. Jeffry brings them from Scotland, and kills Constans with them. Of these events, the last is false, the other improbable.—I honour the veracity of the Welch bards, and admit their facts into history; but Jeffry's is an ignorant composition, in which truth and falsehood are so perpetually wedded, that his facts, unless supported from other authors, can never be trusted.

in the first part of his career, when he received the Saxons, and the resentment of the injured nation may have driven him elsewhere. His fortification in Gwynez may have produced the addition given to him by Golyzan.

While the island was in this state of civil distraction, it was propagated throughout it that the Scots and Picts were advancing for another attack. Our historians have been too eager to stretch their narrations far beyond their documents: hence our Henry of Huntingdon conducts the northern plunderers half over the island, even as far as Stamford ¹³, as if they could have traversed it with the facility of a government messenger. Gildas only mentions, that a rumour was spread of their coming for the purposes of total destruction; Golyzan states them to have resolved upon an assault; and Jeffry makes their irruption subsequent to the arrival of the Saxons, who went beyond the Humber to meet them ¹⁴. A mortal distemper was at the same time afflicting the island ¹⁵.

The

¹³ Henry, Hunt. 309.

¹⁴ Gildas, f. 20. says, *volente deo—familiam suam—auditu tantum tribulationis emendare*, the rumour spread. See Golyzan, Camb. Reg. 555. and Jeffry, l. 6. c. 10.

¹⁵ Gildas, f. 21. Marcellinus mentions a great pestilence following a famine at Constantinople, when Ætius III. and Symmachus were consuls, or 446, p. 41. Scal. Euseb. Evagrius, l. 2. c. 6.

The alarming report occasioned a council to be held. To determine upon the most efficacious plan of repelling and preventing such frequent and fatal invasions was the business of the meeting. The confiliarii, with Gwrtheyrn, the dux Britannorum, met ¹⁶. The confiliarii may have been the leading men of the independant districts, whose turbulence was awed by the impending evil. Gwrtheyrn recommended a præfidium in a band of hired warriors, and to his advice, tota nobilitas, the other chiefs assented ¹⁷.

In this advice Gwrtheyrn may have meditated evil. Some authors have drawn up the veil, and revealed the horrid form of the tyrant affecting to consider the welfare of the island, but secretly planning the consolidation of his power, or security in his oppression. While the apprehensions from the Picts and Scots continued, and while Ambrosius hovered in formidable enmity near him, three Saxon cyules arrived from Germany on the British coast ¹⁸; it was inquired, "What
" was

extends it over Asia and the world, *am. 779*, p. 298. ed. Vales. Corporibus tumescentibus oculos amittebant: simulque tussi vexati tertio die moriebantur. No remedy could be found for it,

¹⁶ Gildas, f. 22, 23.

¹⁷ Ethelwerd, p. 833. Gildas, f. 23.

¹⁸ Dum ipse regnabat, urgebatur a metu Pictorum, Scottorum que—et a timore Ambrosii. Interea venerunt tres chiliæ a Germania,

" was their object, whence their rout, what their
" tribes, and their country ¹⁹."

CHAP.
I.

A.D. 449.

Horfa and Hengift were the leaders of this small band: they answered, that they had been exiled from their native shores; that in obedience to a domestic law, which exacted that in a superfluity of population the youth should by lots decide who should emigrate, they had become the necessary exiles ²⁰.

The use to which such a fortunate accident could be applied was an association of thought not likely to be tardy in occurring to the mind of Gwrtheyrn. They could perform the office of the Roman legions against the barbarians, and, engaged by him, they would be his personal allies, always awing the discontented into peace. They were welcomely received. The council of the British states, attentive only to the avowed and public motives of their superior, gave their

mania, in exilio pulsæ, in quibus erant Hors et Hengyft, qui ipsi fratres erant. Nennius, c. 28. Jeffry, l. 6. c. 10.

¹⁹ Talieffin. Owen's dict. voc. Cw. Jeffry, l. 6. c. 10. The year in which Hengift arrived is contested. The authorities for 449 preponderate. See Langhorn's Chronicon, p. 3. and Usher's Primord. p. 401.

²⁰ Nennius, exilio pulsæ. Jeffry, ubi sup. Suffridus affirms, that an old Frisian law directed such emigrations to take place occasionally, and he makes Hengift and Horfa to command one of these bands, sacred to dire famine. Ubb. Emmius Apolog. refut. p. 12. but Suffridus is not the best authority.

function that the exiles should be admitted²¹. They were stationed in Thanet. This was the residence for which their services were bargained. Food and other necessaries were also promised; and their part of the contract was, courageously to repel the enemies of Britain²².

Well might Golyzan arraign the discretion of Gwrtheyrn and his cowards in such a stipulation²³. The island was fully competent to its own defence, and if a patriotic spirit had produced a general oblivion of wrong, and a general union,

²¹ Ut in insulam ad retrudendas aquilones gentes intromitterentur. Gildas, f. 23. Jeffry makes Vortigern place the Saxons in Lindesia, in Lincolnshire, l. 6. c. 11. May I ask the Welch antiquaries, if the original does not express Thanet, as Golyzan and Nennius do? and if by inserting Lindesey, Jeffry has not led our historians a wild goose chase into Lincolnshire?

²² Evectus primum in orientali parte insulæ, jubente infausto tyranno—quasi pro patria pugnaturus. Gildas, f. 23.—Gortigernus suscepit eos benigne, et tradidit eis insulam, quæ lingua eorum vocatur Taneth, Britannico sermone Ruithina. Nennius, f. 28. And again, Postquam castra metati sunt Saxones in supra dicta insula Taneth; promisit rex dari illis victum et vestimentum absque defectione, et placuit illis, et ipsi promiserunt expugnare inimicos ejus fortiter. Ib. f. 35.

²³ I observe, that Golyzan's

Pan brynafant danet, drwy fled called
Gen Hors a Hengys oedd yn eu rhyfled,

Is somewhat differently rendered. In the Cambrian Reg. 556. the drwy fled calledd is, "by imposing craftiness."—In Mr. Owen's Dictionary, the line is, when they bargained for Thanet, "through lack of discretion," voc. Fled—The literal construction of the Cambrian

union, at least against all invaders, no Saxons could have been wanted. The petty body of Saxons retained, the crews of three cyules²⁴ only, could afford but a trifling aid; an aid contemptible in comparison with the soldiers which might have been raised from any part of Britain, if discord had not disorganized the land, and turned off the sword of its power from its barbarous enemies to be employed in civil murder.

It was at Ebbsfleet²⁵, in the isle of Thanet,
not

brian words appears to me to favour Mr. Owen. Shall I presume to offer this version for the above and the following line,

“ When they (the Britons) bargained for Thanet through want of
“ discretion

“ With Hors and Hengys, they (the Britons) were in their pro-
“ sperity,

“ Their greatness was to us ignoble !”

I consider the whole a strong sarcasm on those whom he before calls the cowards of Gwrtheyrn, and to imply, “ when they made the bargain for Thanet they were in prosperity—they did not need the Saxons :—but their greatness was, in our opinion, a most degraded and base one, because they hired the Saxons.” I beg pardon for my critique in a language of which I know so little.

²⁴ Gildas, Bede, Flor. Wigorn. Malmshury. H. Huntingd. and others, mention the ships, but not the number of men. Hume, p. 19. oct. ed. admits 1600.—Verstegan and his authority, p. 126. and Speed, Hist. 291. outrage probability so far as to crowd 9000 into these three ships.—Rapin more justly observes, they could hold but a very moderate number.

²⁵ Or Ypwines fleet, Sax. Chronicle, 12. it was near the æstuary of the Wantsum, which divides Thanet from the main land of Kent.—

BOOK
II.

not far from the ancient Richborough, that the first body of adventurers arrived. It was a just representation which they made to Gwrtheyrn, that if they were to serve against the Picts and Scots, and his enemies, they ought to invite from their countrymen an augmentation of aid²⁶. The king assented, and an express embassy was sent to their native land, inviting more Saxons²⁷.

But we must not resort to Wittichind for the speech of the ambassadors. Though a Saxon himself, he appears to have been completely

Kent.—The Wantsum was once navigable for ships of large burthen. See Batteley Ant. Rutup. 13. In Bede's time it was three stadia broad, and fordable only in two places, l. 1. c. 25. It is now at Reculver, one of its entrances, a brook which may be stepped over, and in its centre, towards the Sarr road, is scarcely six feet broad. Ebbsfleet is now an inland spot at some distance from the sea.—Sarr was a naval station formerly.

²⁶ Nennius, f. 37. Jeffry, l. 6. c. 11. I would place here that invitation which Bede, l. 1. c. 15. Ethelwerd, 833. Sax. Chron. 12. and others, affirm. The first band were casual rovers; the next were invited.

²⁷ On the British evidence I have made the first arrival of the Saxons not in consequence of invitation; many foreigners sanction me. Freculphus, Chron. t. 2. l. 5. c. 16. who lived in the ninth century, says, *Gens Anglorum advehitur*. Sigebert. Gemblac. p. 494. *exercentes—applicuerunt*.—Werner. Rolwinck. de Westphal. Situ. “*Subito et insperate cohors applicuit*, p. 29.—*Volterraneus Geograph. 23. Saxones novas quærentes sedes in Britanniam applicuere*.—Ubbo Emmius, Hist. Frisior. p. 39. says, “*Non desunt authores, qui non evocatos patria, sed sponte sua, prædandi animo, ad insulam forte advenientes, more suo, cum ab rege sollicitati essent, stipendiis se ejus addixisse, autument. A qua opinione nec me abhorreere fateor.*”

ignorant

ignorant of the Saxon antiquities²⁸. We can conceive the application to have been an address to the courage and spirit of adventure of the Saxon youth. "The Britons intend liberally to reward those who will devote themselves to chastise the Picts and Scots. Hengist and his friends have accepted the proposal, but they want succours." Hengist may have added as a lure, the probability of greater aggrandizement²⁹; but the lofty projects of ambition are not the hasty offspring of a day; from a small scope they swell gradually into magnitude, till the conceptions of the agent become equal to his possible fortunes. In the beginning of his career Hengist could not have seen a kingdom in the smiles of Gwrtheyrn. It was in the civil feuds and warring interests of the unhappy island, that

²⁸ He was the biographer of his contemporary Otho, who died 972. Sigebert, 1196. Germ. Quat. Celeb. Chron.—He addresses his Saxon history to Mathilda, Otho's maiden daughter. He knows nothing of the Saxons prior to their entering Thuringia. He was so ignorant of them as to say, that the Saxons in England were called Angli-Saxones, because the island was in a sort of angle of the sea, P. 3. he says, when he was a boy he heard of the Macedonian extraction of the Saxons.

²⁹ Ethelwerd, 833, asserts, that Hengist pointed out to the Saxons the fertility of the soil and the cowardliness of the natives. In his subsequent invitations he may have urged this theme, but we need not give him views of dominion the moment he landed; we must recollect that six years intervened between his first arrival and his struggles for the kingdom of Kent,

he first beheld the omens and heard the weird sisters of ambition. We need not fancy that his primary invitations held out magnificent hopes, or that his first friendly allies came in search of thrones. The sword of the Saxon was ready for every enterprise; war and booty were his high-prized pleasures, and it is probable, that at the first call of Hengist many thronged, who knew only that they were to fight and to be rewarded.

The Scots were scattered by Hengist as far as Caer Wair³⁰; his success was honoured with the triumphant acclamations of the Britons³¹, and the various parties in the island were reconciled to his settlement³². But the ambition of Hengist began to arise; the enjoyments of the Britons exhibited the charms of land and property, and he could not but feel that he was only a retained mercenary, whose services would be forgotten when the exigency had passed. The

³⁰ Golyzan, Camb. Reg. 555. Was Caer Wair on the Were, in Durham? I observe that Talieffin, Sax. Chron. p. 12, mentions it with Cair Lliwelyz, Owen, voc. Creisferyz. Jeffry places this defeat beyond the Humber, l. 6. c. 10. Wittichind says there was not much difficulty in obtaining this victory; quippe qui jam olim audita fama Saxonum perculsi terrebantur, tum modo præsentia eorum procul pelluntur, p. 3. Their presence alone did the business!

³¹ Golyzan, ubi supra, and Ethelwerd, 833. Tum a rege præfato, funguntur honorato triumpho.

³² Golyzan, ubi supra,

desire of making permanent the conveniences he shared, may have led him to encourage every band of Saxon rovers who would unite with his fortunes. The Britons beheld with dissatisfaction the gradual increase of his countrymen, which the larger donations requisite for their support revealed to all, and required his departure. But Hengist possessed the confidence of Gwrtheyrn, and the increased supplies which he needed were provided³³.

Our further progress must be very cautiously made; we are treading among the broken monuments of our ancestors and the ancient Britons, and the feeble light we can obtain throws but a small and faint circle of rays into the damp and dreary gloom of time, which is corroding them. Sometimes the scanty illumination presents to us the relics, distorted by the shades it creates and cannot remove; with all our care we may often give a delusion, when we think we have traced a reality.

³³ Nennius, c. 35. At illi barbari, cum multiplicati essent in numero, non potuerunt Britones cibare illos cum postulerent cibum et vestimentum sicut promissum illis erat; dixerunt Britones, non possumus vobis dare, &c. quia numerus vester multiplicatus est, sed recedite a nobis, auxilio vestro non indigemus.—Gildas, f. 23. Impetrant sibi annonas dare, quæ multo tempore impertitæ clausurerant canis faucem.

HISTORY OF THE

Whether Hengist won the confidence of Gwrtheyrn by his use in intimidating rebellion, or whether he had a daughter, the blue-eyed Rowena, who taught the aged bosom of the British chief to forget the claims of his country, and to indulge his passion, though Britain was the victim, and whether Kent was the price of her beauty, are circumstances not yet decisively ascertained. Nennius and Jeffry³⁴ mention the incidents, but no Welsh bard has been published who seals them with his attestation; at present, therefore, let the lovely deceiver float before us as one of those historical sylphs which gaily adorn the devious clouds of tradition, precious to the eye of fancy, but not yet entitled to the attachment of the historian.

That Hengist petitioned for as much ground only as a bull's hide would cover, and that he cut this into small slips, and by the fraudulent evasion extended them round a large surface of earth, on which he built a city, may be also ranked as a luxuriant episode, because Jeffry is its voucher³⁵. The

³⁴ Nennius, c. 36, tells the tale simply. Jeffry, l. 6. c. 12, adds the lady's smiling but insidious wacht heil, and the doting Gwrtheyrn's responsive drine heil.

³⁵ Jeffry, l. 6. c. 11. Wittichind gives a similar act of ingenuity to his Saxons. To get a settlement in Thuringia a young Saxon landed laden with gold; a Thuringian met him and inquired his intentions—I want a purchaser—your price—any thing you please;

The liberality of the Britons augmented the demands of their Saxon allies. Gildas mentions their new exactions, and the fierce threats annexed to a refusal³⁶; and Golyzan recites, that in Aber Peryzon the delegates of the Saxons demanded a tribute, and prepared to enforce it. The indignant Britons resisted, but a man of authority, perhaps Gwrtheyrn or his ministers, announced captivity as the consequence of refusal³⁷.

Well might the patriot bard exclaim, that if cowardice had not filled the seats of power, the intruding Germans then might have been exiled³⁸; but the treachery of selfish dotage sheltered the infant colony, and the supine nation acquiesced. In the period of a great revolution, a deadly infatuation blinds and palsies those who

please; in a joke the Thuringian pointed to a heap of earth, and asked if a bosom full of that would do. It was accepted. Each returned to his friends delighted. The Saxon landed again, and scattered the earth as thinly as possible in an immense circle. Upon the space which he managed to inclose by it, the Saxons pitched their camps, and claimed it as fairly purchased, p. 2.

³⁶ Gildas, f. 23. Item queruntur non affluenter sibi epimenia contribuo, et nisi profusior eis munificentia cumlaretur, testantur se cunctæ insulæ rupto foedere depopulatuos.

³⁷ Cambr. Register, p. 555, 556. Is Aber Peryzon the Pedridan-muth of the Saxons? The Parrot flows through Somersetshire. In the beginning of its course, in South Petherton, near its mouth, is Peryton, which may be called Aber Peryton, or the Mouth of the Parrot.

³⁸ Ib. 556.

are

are able and most interested to thwart it; they continue in secure inactivity while exertion would avail, and never throw off the enervating charm till their belated opposition serves but to multiply destruction.

Hengist is stated to have been incessantly augmenting his forces; arrivals of friends are mentioned, though some are not detailed³⁹, but a fleet of seventeen cyules to him, and of forty under Oöta and Abisa, who went to the north of the island, are particularized⁴⁰. He is still described as gradually obtaining more⁴¹, and these continual accessions may have compelled him to make those demands of augmented supplies, which are twice recorded to have awakened the jealousy and indignation of the Britons.

One transaction of our ancestors was so foul, that we should eagerly assume the right to blot it out of history, if the fair laws of evidence had discredited it. While it remained only in the pages of Nennius and Jeffry, the funereal scroll might be contemplated as a possible fiction, be-

³⁹ Nennius, 35, mentions generally that they were multiplied in Thanet.

⁴⁰ Nennius, c. 36, and c. 37. The seventeen convoyed Rowena.

⁴¹ Nennius, c. 37. Et Hengistus semper chiulas ad se paulatim invitavit. Mr. Whitaker justly remarks on the impolicy of the Britons in placing the Saxons in Thanet, a place secluded from the rest of Britain, and favourable for perpetual communications with their German friends, book 2. c. 1. p. 21. quarto.

cause no great crime should be suffered to stain the reputation of the great minds who have outlived their day, unless a moral certainty impresses it on our belief, and the charge of authors so incorrect as Nennius and Jeffry would not authorise the detraction; but the expressive indignation of Golyzan, his energetic strains pour on the fact an attestation which we cannot in candour disavow; he lashes the memory of his Britons into revengeful activity; he points to the intoxication at the great banquet of mead, to the bleeding guests violently slain; he recalls the tears of the matrons; he remembers the mourning which the cruel pagan excited ⁴².

From his pathetic lay we may turn with some belief to the unanimated prose of Nennius and Jeffry. Hengist appointed a meeting of peace; weapons were not to intrude. The perfidious German counselled his friends to conceal their swords in their garments, and, at his signal, to use them against the Britons. The conference began; the horns of festivity went round; when,

⁴² Cambrian Register, 557. I perceive from our learned Usher, p. 415, that Vorperus ex Leidenſi Chronico, Kempius Rer. Friſ. l. 2. c. 22. and Gerbrandus, in his Belgic Chronicle, l. 1. c. 9. mention the aſſaſſination, and make the number three hundred. Ubbo Emmius ſays on this, *authoritatem nec adjicio nec demo*. Hiſt. Friſ. 41.

at the terrible exclamation of Nemed eure Saxes, out rushed the Saxon weapons; the disarmed Britons fell before the execrable assassins, and three hundred of the bravest chiefs of the country are stated to have perished⁴³. Of all crimes, those perpetrated in abuse of generous confidence are most to be abhorred; they break the noblest bonds of society, and tend to deliver up mankind to the government of suspicion, one of the most malignant fiends which human misery can foster.

The object of such a massacre was to enfeeble the opposition of British valour; and it proves that the ferocity imputed by the classics to our ancestors was not a calumny. The purposes of Hengist were now avowed, and after such an event the sword of ruthless vengeance must have been raised on the one side, while ambition and rapacity, with all their dangerous enthusiasm and numerous partisans, confronted it on the other.

The utility of Ochta and Abisa's station beyond the wall was now disclosed to the Britons;

⁴³ Nennius, c. 48. Jeffry, l. 6. c. 15. This incident seems to have pleased the world, for Wittichind gives a similar device against the Thuringians, p. 3. to which the *Vetus Chronicon Holsatiæ*, published by the great Leibnitz, adds the Nemed eure Saxes. Wittichind says, some maintain that the name of the Saxons arose from this incident, *qui cultellis (Saxs) tantam multitudinem fudissent*, as if Ptolemy and the Roman authors had never existed.

an alliance was made by the Saxons with the Picts and Scots ⁴⁴, and while Hengist with open hostility invaded Kent, his friends and allies in Scotland may have alarmed the northern states.

In the sixth year of his arrival the furious war began. At Ailesford the first conflict mentioned by the Saxon authors took place ⁴⁵. 455.

Gwrtheyrn headed the Britons. Horfa fell, but as the annalist remarks that Hengist and his son Esca after it possessed Kent, we may presume that the event was unfavourable to the natives.

The deposition or flight of Gwrtheyrn, who had introduced and protected the terrible Saxons, may have followed this battle ⁴⁶. His son Vortimer accepted the post of patriotism, and exerted his valour to expel the invaders. We may concede to him all the praise that Cambrian affection can demand, and yet may decline to believe that he had pulled up a tree by the roots, and with the vegetating club had killed Horfa and defeated the Saxons ⁴⁷. Courage has been

⁴⁴ Bede, l. 1. c. 15. Wittichind, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Sax. Chron. 13. Ethelwerd, 834. Florentius Wigorn. 128. See Gough's Camden, i. p. 231, on Horfa's monument.

⁴⁶ Nefandus rex, ob incestum quem cum filia commiserat, a facie Germaniæ et clericorum Britannicæ in fugam iret. Nennius, c. 45. Jeffry, l. 6. c. 13. Guortemir vero accepto regno hostibus viriliter obstitit. Nennius.

⁴⁷ Nennius, c. 45. Jeffry, l. 6. c. 13. says, Horfa and Categirn, a son of Vortigern, killed each other.

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always the characteristic of the Cymry, and they may disclaim, without injury to their glory, every impossible atchievement.

457. Crayford was the scene of another battle⁴⁸. The Saxon annalist claims the laurel, and declares that such was its decision, that the Britons yielded up Kent, and fled in terror to London.

The British writers imply the contrary, and annex additional statements, of which the truth or falshood is difficult to be ascertained. Nennius makes it one of Vortimer's victorious battles; and he adds a third, which was contested at Stonar, on the sea shore. Hengist was overpowered by the Briton; he fled to his ships, and for five years quitted the island⁴⁹.

This battle and its issue appear not in the Saxon chronicles; and as little do they authenticate the incident of Hengist flying out of the island. Gildas, indeed, darkly hints, that at one period the invaders returned home⁵⁰, and this

⁴⁸ Sax. Chron. xiii. Florent. Wigorn. 199. Ethelwerd, 834. Langhorn thinks, that the battle of the Darent, mentioned in Nennius, c. 46, was this. The Cray runs into the Darent. Chron. p. 17. In the British Jeffry that river is called Avon Dervennyd. Cambrian Reg. 1795, p. 341.

⁴⁹ Nennius, c. 46 and 45. and Camden Brit. p. 200. Batteley makes the place of conflict Stone-end, in the south corner of Kent. Antiq. Rut. 19.

⁵⁰ Gildas, l. 25. Tempore igitur interveniente aliquanto cum recessissent domum crudelissimi prædones.

expression adds force to the account of Nennius. The position of Stonar, or Stone-end, on the sea shore, implies a full confirmation, provided we could be assured that such a battle took place.

Three circumstances befriend the British account: 1st. The Saxons observe a discreet silence on all the events which occurred between the battle at Crayford, in 457, and the next battle, which they state in 465. 2d. This conflict in 465 they place at Wyppedes Fleot, near Stonar, on the edge of the sea, which resembles another disembarkation, and which is an unaccountable place for a battle with the Britons, if Hengist had been during all the interval absolute master of Kent. 3. There are some foreign traditions of his having founded Leyden⁵¹ during his absence from England.

The British account states, that for five years the Saxons kept out of Britain⁵²; that Vortimer at the end of that time died; and that after-

⁵¹ This is announced to us by Joh. Gerbrandus, of Leyden, an author who died 1504. *Fab. Bib. Medii Ævi*, l. 7. p. 133. As I have not his work I am unacquainted with his authority for the fact; an extract from his *Chronicon* is in *Usher*, 420. *Kempius*, in his *Rer. Frisic.* l. 2. c. 1. affirms the same. *Usher*, ib. Besides these, *Doufa*, *Meursius*, *Hegenitius*, &c. *vulgata Hollandiæ Chronica* sequuti, report it. *Usher*, 420.

⁵² *Nennius*, c. 45. *Et per quinquennium postea insulam intrare non audebant usque ad obitum Guortemir.* He had before said, that the Briton ex omnibus finibus *Britanniæ* expulit the Saxons, which I consider to mean an actual expulsion.

wards the invaders returned with greater power than before ⁵³. But we must now abandon Nennius, who fables about St. Germain who had long before died ⁵⁴, and attach ourselves to the Saxon writers. The dreams of Jeffry are also to be overlooked; he has woven a series of incidents contrary to the tenor of the Saxon history, and therefore unworthy of belief on his single authority. Many rays of true history may be collected from the Welsh bards, when they shall be given to us; but, until they appear, let us prefer ignorance to error.

465. In this year Hengist and his son Esca fought the Britons at Wyppeds Fleot, on the sea coast of Thanet, very near the spot of his first landing; twelve British chieftains fell, and the memory of one has been perpetuated in the appellation of the place ⁵⁵.

⁵³ Nennius, c. 46. Et barbari magnopere reversi sunt. Vortimer is said to have ordered his tomb to be placed on the sea shore, as a talisman of safety to the island; but the Britons buried him elsewhere.

⁵⁴ St. Germain was bishop of Auxerre from 418 to 448. Fabricius Biblioth. Med. Ævi, l. 7. p. 139. Il mourut a Ravenne le 31 Juillet de l'an 448 ou 449. Moreri in voc. He lived thirty years and twenty-five days after St. Amator, says his biographer Constantius. Amator died 418. Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. p. 209.

⁵⁵ Sax. Chron. p. 14. Florent. Wig. 200. Ethelwerd, 834. He does not say the Britons attacked, which can alone account for the place of contest; but Hengist and his son, arma moverunt contra Britannos, which favours the British account of an invasion.

The name of Hengist has been surrounded with terror, and all his steps with victory; from Kent he is affirmed to have carried devastations into the remotest corners of the island; to have spared neither age, sex, nor condition; to have slaughtered the priests on the altars, to have butchered in heaps the people who fled to the mountains and deserts⁵⁶, and to have finally established his dominion in Kent, Essex, Middlesex, and Suffex; but when from these pompous hyperboles of ferocious conquest we turn to the simple and authentic facts, that all the battles of Hengist, particularised by the Saxons, were fought in Kent; that one of the last contests was even in Thanet, in the extremity of his little kingdom⁵⁷; and that no good evidence is extant of his having penetrated far beyond the region which he transmitted⁵⁸ to his posterity;

⁵⁶ This statement is seriously given by Hume, p. 20, and by our venerable Milton. Kennett's Collection of Histor. 37. Langhorn, p. 33, follows Jeffry, and adds, York, Lincoln, London, and Winchester to his conquests.

⁵⁷ Wippedfleet. It is true the Saxon Chronicle adds, that in 473, or eight years afterwards, Hengist and his son in a battle gained great plunder, and the Britons fled from them like a fire; but the fact, that from the extremity of Thanet they fled into Middlesex will fully meet this.

⁵⁸ Mr. Carte has observed, that he never extended his territories beyond Kent. Hist. England, p. 198. Mr. Whitaker is of a similar opinion. Manchett. ii. 4to. p. 28.

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and above all, that at this very period the Britons were so warlike that twelve thousand went to Gaul to assist the natives against the Visigoths⁵⁹, we must perceive that exaggeration has been as busy with Hengist as with Arthur, and that modern historians have suffered their criticism to slumber while they were perusing the confused declamations of Gildas and his copyist Bede. What Gildas related as the general consequences of all the Saxon invasions, has been too hastily applied to the single instance of Hengist. The truth seems to be, that the fame of Hengist depends more on the circumstance of his having first conceived and executed the project of an hostile settlement in Britain, than on the magnitude of his conquests, or the extent of his devastations.

As Nennius mentions a king of Kent in the first invasion of Hengist⁶⁰, and as civil disorder is strongly implied at this period, it is probable

⁵⁹ The expedition of Riethamus, mentioned in Sidon. Apollon. l. 3. ep. 9. and Jornandes, c. 45. This incident was early noticed by Freculphus, Chron. t. 2. c. 17.—Sigebert Gembl. in mentioning it gives a gentle lash on Jeffry; *Quis autem fuerit iste, historia Britonum minime dicit, quæ regum suorum nomina et gesta per ordinem pandit.* 1 Pift. 504. Langhorn Chron. 19. 30. Stillingfleet, 197. and Gibbon, iii. p. 482. also notice it.

⁶⁰ Nennius, c. 36, *Gnoirangono rege regnante in Cantia.* Camden interprets it Guorong, a viceroy or freeman. Brit. p. 187. Gibbon edit.

that

that the struggles of Hengist were not always with the British nation, but sometimes with the sovereign of the district he invaded. This supposition will account for the phenomenon of his invasion obtaining such decisive success.

For twelve years after the battle at Wippeds-fleet he remained alone exposed to the vengeance of the Britons. The ease with which he seems to have maintained his extorted dominion announces the continuance of the discord which was wasting the British strength⁶¹. At length another adventurer came to woo the favours of fortune on the island. The success of Hengist made a new species of enterprize fashionable among the Saxon states. By two centuries of maritime plunder much property must have been amassed by many individuals, and as the love of ease and enjoyment is a principle of the human heart, as governing as the passion for war, they who had prospered on the ocean would befriend a new scene of adventure, wherein the prizes were more splendid, and the perils of the acquisition much diminished. To dare the rage of the winds was, frequently, to rush upon an

⁶¹ An abrupt but valuable passage of Nennius, p. 118, intimates the civil fury at this period: "A regno Guorthrigerni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii anni sunt duodecem." Huntingd. 311. Non cessabant civilia bella,

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awful catastrophe. To combine to obtain riches, cultivated lands, and slaves to tend them, was more inviting than to risk the tempest for uncertain plunder. Hence it is not wonderful, that while some were diffusing themselves over Germany, the achievement of Hengist was a beacon of emulation to the maritime part of the Saxon confederation, and assisted to convert it from naval piracy to views of regular conquest in Britain.

It is a law of nature, that the population of every country shall ever tend to exceed its supply⁶². The augmented resources of subsistence from the harvests of the ocean multiplied the inhabitants of the Saxon states. Although numbers perished, yet as the rest made a large part of Europe their granary, the principle of population continued with all its activity to furnish new generations of adventurers. In one age these swarmed upon the seas, in another they diffused themselves over Britain and Germany.

477. Ella landed with three sons in Suffex⁶³; they
Arrival of Ella. drove the Britons into the great wood which stretched from the south of Kent into Suffex

⁶² See this opinion most luminously stated in "An Essay on the Principles of Population, as it affects the future Improvement of Society."

⁶³ Saxon Chron. 14. Flor. Wigorn. 203. Ethelwerd. 834.

and

and Hampshire⁶⁴; and although they came with only three ships, they succeeded in gaining a settlement. By slow degrees they enlarged their conquests on the coast. In the eighth year of their arrival they attempted to penetrate into the interior; a dubious but wasteful battle checked their progress. Recruited by new arrivals from the continent, they ventured, in 490, to besiege Andredes Ceaster, a city strongly fortified according to the usages of the age. The attack succeeded, but was disgraced by one of those actions of detestable barbarity, which call down upon the perpetrators the execration of mankind; the inhabitants were put to the sword⁶⁵.

As this state was never formidable to the others, nor is much mentioned afterwards, there is no reason to imagine that Ella made any great progress; but Ella is commemorated as the preponderant Saxon chief⁶⁶ at that time in England: his conquests were therefore superior to those of Hengist and his son, who were his

⁶⁴ The weald of Kent was anciently 120 miles long towards the west, and 30 broad from north to south. On the edge of the wood, in Suffex, stood Andredes Ceaster. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, 167, 168. This vast wood was a wilderness, not inhabited by men, but by deer and hogs.

⁶⁵ Sax. Chron. 15. "Ne wearth thær forthon an Bryt to lafe."

⁶⁶ Sax. Chron. 71. Bede, l. 2. c. 5.



contemporaries. This is another circumstance which evidences the mistake of attributing such extensive desolation and triumphs to Hengist. Both he and Ella appear to have been satisfied by the possession of the provinces they invaded. It was the next warrior who spread consternation through Britain, resisted the genius of Ambrosius and Arthur, and by his successes ensured safety to the intruders in Kent and Suffex.

495.

Invasion of
Cerdic.

Eighteen years after Ella, another powerful colony of Saxons arrived in the island, under the auspices of Cerdic ⁶⁷. The first essay was made with five ships; but the battles and conquests of its leaders display either abilities of the most superior kind, or an accumulation of force far beyond that which had assailed the other parts of the island. The place of his primary descent is by no means clear. The modern name, which would correspond with the ancient appellation of Cerdices Ora, has not been preserved ⁶⁸. Both

⁶⁷ Sax. Chron. 15. Flor. Wig. 205. Cerdic was the ninth descendant from Woden by his son Bældæg and his great grandson Freothogar.

⁶⁸ Yet Higden, in his Polychronicon, makes Cerdicesore that quæ nunc dicitur Gernemouth, p. 224, which (if we could rely upon it) would decide that Yarmouth was the spot. Camden mentions a striking fact in favour of the claims of Yarmouth, "The place is called by the inhabitants at this day, Cerdickfand." Britan. 390. Gib.

Yarmouth

Yarmouth and Southampton ⁶⁹ have had their advocates; but a remarkable passage in the Saxon Chronicle, which indicates that he attacked West Seaxnaland six years after his arrival ⁷⁰, induces a belief that his first attempt was on some other region.

In the same year that Cerdic assaulted the district afterwards denominated Wessex, a band of allies under Porta effected a landing with the companies of two ships at Portsmouth, and defeated the Britons ⁷¹. From this year to his death Cerdic had to support incessant and very destructive hostilities with the Britons. Unlike the preceding adventurers, the positions of his battles embrace a very large extent. The Isle of Wight, Hampshire, and Buckinghamshire, witnessed the Saxon triumphs under him, as Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Oxfordshire experienced those of his son. The distance of their

501.

⁶⁹ This position is thought to be warranted by comparing the Saxon Chron. p. 18. which mentions the arrival of the nepotes of Cerdic at Cerdicefora, in 514. and Matt. West. who states their arrival in occidentali parte Britanniae, 184. but this is not conclusive evidence. Mr. Whitaker thinks, that all Cerdic's operations were confined to Hampshire, vol. ii. p. 61.

⁷⁰ Sax. Chron. p. 15. So Ethelwerd, 634. Sexto etiam anno adventus eorum occidentalem circumierunt Britanniae partem quae Westsexe nuncupatur.

⁷¹ Sax. Chron. p. 17. Flor. Wig. 205. Ethelw. 834.

victories

victories proclaim their spirit of enterprize and their strength. They established at last, in the year 519, a kingdom so powerful as to engulph every other sovereignty.

547.

About fifty-two years after the expedition of Cerdic, and almost a century after the landing of Hengist on the island, another fleet of warriors directed their course to the north. They who had hitherto arrived were Jutes and Saxons; but the associates of Ida were Angles, and as he came with a train of forty vessels⁷², it was by far the most formidable emigration. After many battles the invaders had leisure to colonize what they conquered. A descent so powerful must have subdued a large extent of country, and some years afterwards the colony branched into two independent kingdoms, preserving the ancient names of the districts, Deira and Bernicia. The British sovereigns of these provinces, at the period of Ida's invasion, were Gall, Dyvedel, and Yfgwnell⁷³.

Ida's settlement.

The

⁷² Saxon Chron. 19. Ida was the ninth descendant from Woden by his son Bældeg and his great grandson Beonoc. Ib.—In 547 he assumed royalty in the province of Brynaich. Flor. Wig. 218. He had six legitimate sons, and six others. Ib.

⁷³ The Triades mention these as the three unben or sovereigns of Deifr and Brynaich; they were children of Dysgyfddawg, and were bards like their father. Jones's Relics of the Welch Bards, p. 11.—Taliessin remarks the fullen wave round the grave of their brother

The Urien, celebrated by the muse of Talieffin, and the friend and relation of Llywarchhen, governed in the district called Reged, in Cumbria. Three others, Rhydderc, the generous Gwallog the son of Lleenog, and Morgant, also reigned in Cumbria, which was that part of the north extending into Scotland, which the Cymry then possessed ⁷⁴.

The exact chronology of the occupation of Mercia, East Anglia, and Essex, is by no means indisputable. At some period near 500, the East Anglian state was colonized, though the monarchy did not appear till after 530 ⁷⁵. Essex

East Ang-
lia.
Essex.

claims brother Dysgyrnin. Owen's Dist. voc. Angwres, Brynac means a mountainous or highland region. Ib. in voc. The youth of this province used a covering hurdle in battle. Talieffin, ib. in voc. Dorglwyd.

⁷⁴ Owen's account of Llywarch Hen, prefixed to his translation of his works, p. 9. The sword of Rhydderc was named Dyrnwyn, and was commemorated as one of the thirteen princely rarities of Britain. Ib. p. 10. A Triad gives to Gwallog the epithet of Slaughtering in his grave; and another mentions Morgant with Arthur and Rhun as the three ruddy chiefs of Britain. Ib.—The four kings of Cumbria are also mentioned by Nennius, p. 117.

⁷⁵ Matth. Westm. 188. and H. Hunt. 313. agree in stating that the Angles who landed here were under separate chiefs. M. West. dates their arrival in 527. Alured. Beverlacensis, 82. and Malmesbury, 34. place the colonization of East Anglia before the establishment of the kingdom of Wessex, which was founded in 519. Sax. Chron. 18. A monarchy was at last formed under Uffa, whom Higden places in 492. Polych. 224. but he died in 578, according to Matth. Westm. 197.—Higden must be wrong in his date of Uffa.—

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Mercia.

claims a date as a kingdom about 530⁷⁶. Mercia can, from reasonable evidence, lay claim to the year 586⁷⁷. A line of Nennius seems to intimate, that Mercia was a ramification of Deira⁷⁸.

When we contemplate the slow progression of the Saxon conquests, and the insulated settlements of the first adventurers, which were like fairy rings upon a spacious heath, we can hardly repress our surprise that any invader should have effected a permanent residence. Hengist was embosomed in hostility for almost all his life; the safety of Ella was little less precarious. The forces of either were so incommensurable with the numbers and bravery of the people they attacked, that nothing seems to

Uffa.—Redwald was the grandson of Uffa, Bede, 2. c. 15, and he died about 626, therefore, though we should concede to Higden, that the first colony may have landed in 492, which seems too early, yet it is not probable that Uffa arose to power until after 530.

⁷⁶ Erkenwin was the first king; he died 587, says M. West. 200. who places the commencement of his reign in 527. This reign seems too extravagantly long; yet we must not forget that Ethelbert reigned 56 years. Sax. Chron, 25. It is agreed, that the occupation of Essex was synchronous with that of East Anglia.

⁷⁷ Crida, was the first Mercian sovereign, and grandfather to Penda; he began to reign, 586. 3 Gale Scriptores, 229. H. Hunt. 315. 2 Leland's Collectanea, 56. 1 ib. 258.—Leland. ib. 1. 211. from an old chronicle, observes that the Trent divided Mercia into two kingdoms, the north and south.

⁷⁸ Penda primus separavit regnum Merciorum a regno Nordorum. Nennius, p. 117.

have

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have saved them from immediate expulsion or annihilation but the civil dissensions of the natives. Fallen into a number of petty states⁷⁹, in actual warfare with each other, or separated by jealousy, Britain met the successive invaders with a local, not with a national force. The selfish policy of its chiefs, who may have triumphed in the misfortunes of each other, was auspicious to the Saxon aggression.

⁷⁹ *Tota insula, diversis regibus divisa, subjacuit, Joannes Tinmuth. ap. Usher, 662.*

C H A P. II.

*Who were the Peoples that established themselves
in Britain.*

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IN common language the successive invaders were denominated Saxons, and Angles, and Jutes; but it becomes a question of some nicety to determine from what regions the Saxons came.

At their first appearance in the history of Europe we have stated, that their residence was in Ditmarfia, Stormaria, and Holfatia, and the adjacent islands; but this boundary was passed in the third and fourth centuries, and in the fifth they had extended their confederation or their conquests from the Eyder to the Rhine⁸⁰.

All this extent of sea coast was the residence

⁸⁰ Secunda Saxonia cis Albim se diocletiano imperante cœpit explicare, eademque primum vicinas maris oras, mox omnes ad Rhenum usque occupavit. Spener, Notit. Germ. 361. Ethelwerd implies the same, 833.—The Irish primate, c. 12. p. 399, disputes their settlements to the Rhine, and admits only a piracy to that extent: but though his learning is so immense on every topic he discusses, yet there can be no doubt that he has erred in this opinion.

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of Saxons ⁸¹, and from which parts of this district the various chieftains sailed, who founded the three Saxon kingdoms in England, has not been satisfactorily preserved to us. The assertion that they only came who lived above the Elbe may be true, but stands on no adequate authority.

If we turn to the Welch bards, the contemporaries of the invaders, or their immediate descendants, and whose opinion, from their antiquity and the rank they held amid the intellect of that day, is of importance, we may remark, that their expressions seem to make the Saxons more continental than the Cimbric Chersonesus would admit. A denomination of the Saxons, peculiarly familiar to the bards, is that of Allmyn. Golyzan, in his *Arymes Prydein Vawr*, is perpetually giving them this appellation as well as *Saeson* ⁸². Talieffin also, a bard of peculiar merit, and a traveller, for he had been chief bard of

⁸¹ Saxonum nomen tum latè patebat, nec ii tantum qui vere Saxonici gentis erant, ita vocati vulgo sunt, apud externos præsertim, sed omnes promiscuè, qui in oceanum usque Germaniæ illam partem prope Albim, Visurgim, Amasum, Rhenum, longè latèque tenebant. Quod ne nunc quidem insolitum est, alios populos aliorum vicinorum, qui famâ et potentiâ antecedunt, nomine censerî—Inter reliquos Frisii, &c.—Ubbo Emmius, *Rer. Fris. Hist.* p. 39.

⁸² *Cambrian Register* for 1796, p. 555, 556, 558, 561.

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the harp to Leon, king of Norway⁸³, intitles them Allmyn⁸⁴; and at another time sings of the merciless and proud serpent with armed wings, who came from Germania⁸⁵.

I would not argue from this, that it is certain that some Allemanni came into England, though an ancient Belgic Chronicle seems to intimate as much⁸⁶; but the name of Allmyn, applied by the Welch to the Saxons, tends to justify the supposition, that more German nations than the Cimbric Saxons visited England⁸⁷. The name of

⁸³ So Talieffin sings, and adds—"I know the learning and poetry of all the world." Jones, *Relics of Welch Bards*, p. 12. That he was master of the learning of the western part of the world in that day is not improbable.

⁸⁴ "The Allmyn preparing successive emigrations." Owen, *voc. Attor*; and—the "crimson gore on the cheeks of the Allmyn." *Ib. voc. Clas.*

⁸⁵ See one of his celebrated poems, published with a Latin translation, in Owen's *British Remains*, p. 127.

⁸⁶ Colinus, in his *Chronico Rhythmico*, written in the twelfth century (*Cannegieter de Brittenburgo*, p. 3) says,

Woe die Friēfen Anglen en
Saxon, uitte (or mette) Allemangen
Verhiven over in Bretangen.

Ib. p. 68.

This author *Cannegieter* styles, *fide et integritate præstantior*, nihil enim se scriptis consignare dicit, nisi quod ex certis monumentis cognoverat. Some of the ancient German bards were extant in his monastery when he wrote. *Ib.* p. 3.

⁸⁷ Bede remarked, that the Welch called their invaders Germans, and gives as the reason, that they came from many German nations. He enumerates them. *Sunt autem Frisones, Rugii, Dani, Huni, antiqui Saxones, Boructuari.* L. 5. c. 10.

Allmyn

Allmyn may have reached beyond the actual settlement of the Alemanni, and perhaps at this period extended largely about the Rhine. At this era we know the Franks to have marched from Batavia into Gaul, and they may have been replaced at the mouth of the Rhine by Alemanni as well as by Saxons; both these nations were in close vicinity to Batavia, and the people who occupied it after the Franks might, from this circumstance, have been promiscuously called Frisians, Saxons, or Alemanni. It may have been an error to call them Allmyn, but the use of the expression seems to imply, that they came from the regions to which the name of Alemanni extended, though perhaps by popular abuse.

It is expressly stated, that Frisians were part of the invaders. In this fact an imperial writer⁸⁸, an Anglo-Saxon⁸⁹, and a Belgian, agree⁹⁰. The hoary prince of Argoed, who united the characters of warrior and bard, and

⁸⁸ Procopius, *Gothicæ Historiæ*, l. 4. p. 467. edit. Grot.

⁸⁹ Bede, l. 5. c. 10.

⁹⁰ The ancient Colinus, in *Cannegieter de Brittenb.* p. 68. To these we may add Marcellinus, in his *Life of Suidbert*. This author, Bede coetaneous, says, Suidbert desired the salvation præcipue paganorum, Frisiorum et Saxonum, eo quod Angli ex ipsis propagati sunt." And again, Quoniam sancti doctores propagati fuerunt in Anglia de stirpe Frisonica et Saxonica, &c. Ub. Emmius, *Hist. Fris.* p. 41. and see Spener, 361.

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lived to lament the miseries of war over the tombs of twenty-four children, its victims, and of all his friends and protectors, mentions the Franks⁹¹ as opposed to the Britons. Perhaps as the Frisians had been part of the union of peoples called Franks, and did not accede to the Saxon league till late⁹², they may have been sometimes designated by such an appellation.

In this part of our subject we are walking over the country of the departed, whose memory has not been perpetuated by the commemorating heralds of their day. A barbarous age is unfriendly to human fame. When the clods of his hillock are scattered, or his funereal stones are thrown down, the glory of a savage perishes for ever. If a modern fancy attempts to repopulate the barbarian wilds, unreal apparitions and empty shades are usually the beings which stalk abroad while we gaze.

Let us then simply mention, without annexing to it either belief or incredulity, that a Belgic chronicle has wafted Hollanders into Britain,

⁹¹ Llywarch Hen, p. 99. In Flintshire there is a place called Carreg y Francod. There is a pass on the Cluydian hills named Biolch Francon, and a dingle in Snowdon, Nant Francon. Davies in Cambrian Register for 1795, p. 276.

⁹² They were an antiquam gentem inter Amisum Rhenumque, Romanis primum bellis, deinde Francorum, posteaque Saxonum societate illustratum. Spener Notit. ii. 413.

whom

whom it calls *Sclavenfes*⁹³. We have no Ithuriel's spear to detect the false or reveal the true settlers, and will therefore escape from these regions of the dead, repeating only, that Saxony, at this period, extended from the Eyder to the Rhine⁹⁴, if not to the Scheld⁹⁵, and that it is highly probable that adventurers failed in quest of the British fleece from many other parts besides the Cimbric Chersonesus.

The Britons maintained a long and manly struggle, and many fleets of victims must have been sacrificed by their patriotic vengeance before the several kingdoms were established. In such a succession of conflicts the invading chiefs would gladly enlist every band of rovers who

⁹³ Gerbrand, of Leyden, memorat duces illos ex *Hollandensibus* etiam milites ad expeditionem eam conscripsisse. *Cannieg. de Britt.* 68. and *Colinus*, ex eo quod *Frisones* dicuntur interfuisse expeditioni huic *Saxonum Anglorumque*, docet *Hollandiam* olim *Frisiæ* partem fuisse. *Ib.*

⁹⁴ The progression, diminution, and augmentation of the Saxon power are stated by Spener, who distinguishes it into four vicissitudes, *Saxonia Transalбина*, *S. Cisalбина*, *S. Maxima*, and *S. Ultima*, p. 361. In his second part, p. 399—412, he exhibits its state in the sixth century.

⁹⁵ Besides *Emilius Stoke*, whose *Chronicle* we quoted in the first book, *Colinus* also mentions, that Lower Saxony reached to Belgium.

De lande die gelagen
Tussen maer-zee ende Nymagen
Rien en Mase en Torp assen
Al die Goyen heten Neer-Sassen. *Cannieg.* p. 67.

offered; and as in a future day every coast of Scandinavia and the Baltic poured their warriors on England, so it is likely that in the present period adventurers crowded from every neighbouring district ⁹⁶.

But of two nations who colonised Britain we know the ancient residence; these were the Jutes and Angles.

Speculation has not tossed about the Jutes; Jutland exists still to claim them, and they have been allowed to have inhabited it. The duchy of Sleswick was formerly named South Jutland ⁹⁷, and it was from this, rather than from the more remote northern district, that the Angles and Jutes proceeded; they composed the little band introduced into England by Hengist and Horfa ⁹⁸. The caprices of orthography have bewildered the name of the Jutes ⁹⁹, and confused

⁹⁶ Mascou was of opinion, that many other people from the coast along the north sea undoubtedly came over in shoals, and were comprehended under the three names of Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, p. 527.

⁹⁷ Chrytæus, Saxonia, 65. Pontanus, Chorog. Dan. 653.

⁹⁸ Bede places the Jutes in Kent and the Isle of Wight, l. i. c. 15.

⁹⁹ Geatum, Giotæ, Jotæ, Gutæ, Geatani, Jotuni, Jotæ, Jutæ, Juitæ, Vitæ. Schilter's Glöf. Teut. 49.—See also Pont. Chorog. 653. Munster says, that some of the Vitæ or Jutæ went to the mountains which separate Germany from Italy, and were then called Hill-Vitæ, which the Romans latinized into Helvetia!! Verstegan's Restit. 137.

their derivation. One of their fancied parentages is pleasant enough—it is from the Jews ¹⁰⁰.

The Angles have not been left in such tranquillity as their neighbours: they have been derived from different parts of the north of Germany. Engern, in Westphalia, was a favourite position, because it seemed to suit the geography of Tacitus ¹⁰¹. Angloen, in Pomerania, had good pretensions from the similarity of its name ¹⁰², and part of the dutchies of Mecklenburg and Lunenburg were chosen out of respect to Ptolemy ¹⁰³; but the opinion of Camden has, from its truth, prevailed over all. In the days of Ta-

¹⁰⁰ “The Danes and Jutes may from their very names be presumed to have been Jews, *orti de tribu Dan.*” *Vetus Chronicon Hollatie*, 54.

¹⁰¹ The Angrivarii of Tacitus are die Engern in Westphalia. 1 Schard. *Hist. Germ.* 46, 146, 169. and Lindenbrog. *Legum Antiq.* 1355.—Krantz, *Saxonia*, 18, 48, Chrytæus and others believe these to have been the Angli who invaded with the Saxons. Engelhusius brings Hengist from Engern. *Stillingf. Orig. Brit.* 311.—Spener, p. 270. reasons against the supposition that the Angrivarii came to Britain.

¹⁰² Peucer apud Ortelius, *Thef. Geog. voc. Suevi*, and Cisher's Preface to Krantz. Fabricius mentions, that the dutchy of Brunswick, as far as Magdeburg, was the ancient country of the Angli 2 Saxonia, p. 8.

¹⁰³ Cluverius places them here. 3 *Germania Antiq.* c. 27. But the reasonable opinion of Cellarius, concerning these and the other tribes joined in the same sentence by Tacitus, deserves our attention: “*Meræ conjecturæ sunt qui in tabulis sedes hisce gentibus assignaverunt.*” 1 *Geographia Antiqua*, 303.

HISTORY OF THE

citus and Ptolemy, the Angli may have been in Westphalia or Mecklenburg, or elsewhere, but at the era of the Saxon invasion they were resident in the district of Anglen, in the dutchy of Sleswick ¹⁰⁴.

The dutchy of Sleswick extends from the river Levesou, north of Kiel, to the Tobesket, on which stands Colding; but that particular position, which an ancient Saxon author calls Old England, extends from the city of Sleswick to Flensberg. Sleswick was the capital of Anglen, and was distinguished, in the eleventh century, for its population and wealth ¹⁰⁵.

The etymology of Angle has been explained to be, Angulus, a corner; Angela, a lady; Angle, a fishing-rod; Angul, the brother of him who founded Denmark; or Angri, a German tribe ¹⁰⁶. The Welch bards denominate this people Ein-

¹⁰⁴ Camden's Introduction. He attributes to the Angles the German cities Engelheim, where Charlemagne was born, Ingolstadt, Engleburg, Engelrute; and Angleria, in Italy.

¹⁰⁵ Pontanus, Geographia, 655, 656. Ethelwerd, 833. Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale quod sermone Saxonico Sleswic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos, Haithabay; and see Alfred's Orosius, p. 25. Some, who admit this situation, will not allow that the Angli were German emigrants. Schilter's Glos. p. 49.—Wormius derives them from the Jutes. Literat. Runica, p. 29.

¹⁰⁶ See Camden's Introduction.

gyll—"Men run before the Eingyll—it is right
"to kill—the right of ravens is that spears be
"heaping ¹⁰⁷."

CHAP.
II.

It has been the opinion of some, that Hengist was a Frisian, who emigrated to Sleswick, and thence came into Britain ¹⁰⁸; but the wings of fancy are so eager to spread themselves, that we are often far advanced in our airy flight before we suspect that we have begun it.

Opposite to the island of Northstrand, on the western shore of Sleswick, a small tract of land, dangerous from its vicinity to a turbulent sea, was in ancient times occupied by a colony of Frisians. They extended north from Hufum for several miles along the sea-coast. In the middle of the district was the town Brested, surrounded by a rich soil, though sands extended

¹⁰⁷ Aneurin in Owen, voc. Brynail.—Taliesin, ib. voc. Eçwyn, and in a later age the interesting Gwalchmai—"I also hastened with shrouds for the Eingyll." Ib. voc. Arolo.

¹⁰⁸ Suffridus Petri. Ubbo Emmius, Apologet. p. 12.—but Cluverius, iii. p. 89. brings him from the Rhine, and others from Friesland. And who was Hengist? The son of Udolph, a Frisian prince, by a Saxon lady. Our ignorant annalists did not know that Hengist and Horfa had been educated at the polished court of Valentinian; that they served six years in his army, and three years under the duke of Brabant. We owe this information to Suffridus and his Occa.—And who was Occa? An ignis fatuus placed in the tenth century by his Suffridus, but invisible to others.—Emmius compares him (if he ever lived) to Hunibald, Jeffry, and Saxo, et alios id genus scriptores qui fabulosæ gentium suarum origines composuerunt. Hist. Fris. p. 45. Vossius agrees with him. Hist. Lat. 349.

beyond

beyond. It terminated about Langhorn. The people who dwelt on it were called Strandfrisi, and the tract was denominated Frisia Minor. The marshy soil was colonized by the natives of Friesland, in an age which has not been explored. Saxo speaks of Canute the fifth's journey to it, and then describes it as rich in corn and cattle, and protected from the ocean by artificial mounds. It was a complete flat; the waters sometimes were terrible to it; fields were often burst, and carried off to another spot, leaving to their owner a watery lake. Fertility followed the inundation. The people were fierce, active, disdaining heavy armour, and expert with their missile weapons¹⁰⁹.

It is an opinion of Usher¹¹⁰, that from these Frisians, and not from the natives of Friesland, Hengist may be deduced. This supposition is not hostile to the information of Bede, that the companions of Hengist were Jutes, because Frisia Minor is part of South Jutland.

¹⁰⁹ Pontanus, Chorograph. 657. Saxo Grammaticus, l. 14. p. 260. Ed. Steph. and his Prefatio, p. 3. Frisia major was not unlike it, as a low marshy soil, much exposed to the fury of the ocean. Saxo, l. 8. p. 167. and Steph. notes, 16.

¹¹⁰ Usher, Primord. 397. Stillingfleet thinks Frisia Minor too small a place to have furnished the armament of Hengist, p. 310; yet three cyules could not have contained many. If Usher's idea be just, the Strandfrisi of Jutland may have been his first companions; his future allies may have come from other parts.

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CHAP.
II.

The various parts of Britain, into which the Saxons and their confederates spread themselves, may be stated from the Irish primate ⁱⁱⁱ.

The Jutes possessed Kent, the Isle of Wight, and that part of the coast of Hampshire, which fronts it.

The Saxons were distinguished, from their situation, into

South Saxons, who peopled Suffex.

East Saxons, who were in Effex, Middlesex, and the south part of Hertfordshire.

West Saxons, in Surry, Hampshire (the coast of the Jutes excepted), Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and that part of Cornwall which the Britons were unable to retain.

The Angles were divided into

East Angles, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and (it should seem) part of Bedfordshire.

Middle Angles, in Leicestershire, which appertained to Mercia.

ⁱⁱⁱ Usher, Primord. c. 12. p. 394. With this Camden's idea may be compared; and for the sentiments of an ingenious modern on the Anglo-Saxon Geography, see Hist. Manchester, l. 2. c. 4. p. 38.

The

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The Mercians, divided by the Trent into

South Mercians, in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon, the north parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Bucks, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire.

North Mercians, in the Counties of Chester, Derby, and Nottingham.

The Northumbrians, who were,

The Deiri, in Lancaster, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham.

The Bernicians, in Northumberland, and the south of Scotland, between the Tweed and the Firth of Forth.

An ancient estimation of landed territory¹¹² in each state, upon this side of the Humber, will furnish some idea of their relative importance.

Cant Warena	-	-	15,000 hides.
East-Sexena	-	-	7,000
Suth-Sexena	-	-	7,000
West-Sexena	-	-	100,000
East-Engle	-	-	30,000
Myrcna	-	-	30,000

¹¹² 3 Gale, Scriptores Angl. 748.

CHAP. III.

On the existing Works of the British Bards, who were contemporary with some of the Saxon Invasions.

ABOVE a century elapsed from the first invasion of Hengist to the complete establishment of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy.

CHAP.
III.

The invasion of a great country by a distant enemy is an event which always interests the historical reader; but the conquest of Britain, by petty detachments of Saxon warriors, failing successively to violate its independance, was a phenomenon so contrary to all the chances of political calculations, that our curiosity becomes anxious to know the circumstances of that national defence which proved so unavailing.

Clouds and ever-during dark seemed to have settled upon this portion of British history; not only the atchievements, but the names of the military patriots, who led their countrymen into the noblest field of honour, have been excluded from the pages of the Saxon annalists; they just mention Gwrtheyrn, whom fable and history unite

unite to disgrace¹, though in this nation of charity both he and Richard have found their panegyrists. From the ruins of history, preserved by Nennius and Gildas, Ambrosius and Vortimer arise obscurely to our aching gaze, but vanish so suddenly that we can retain few traces of their forms. An ambiguous personage, with the name of Natanleod², starts up for a moment in the robes of royalty, to perish before Cerdic in the plains of Hampshire; but so few relics of knowledge were rescued from the depredations of time by our ancient chroniclers, that the historian could neither embalm the memory of the patriot, nor hang up to infamy the selfish monsters, who, in the period of national peril, destroyed, in their despicable quarrels, the vigour of the island, and admitted the barbarian invaders to monopolize the country which for ages they had ravaged.

But the curtain of ignorance begins to be withdrawn; a cluster of contemporary writers who were known to exist, but whose importance in British history was not understood, have at

¹ The Triades denominate him and two other traitors as three men who disgraced the island. Pryse, Hist. Brit. Defensio, 124.

² Mr. Camden thinks he was Ambrosius; Usher, that he was Uthur; and others, that he was one of Uther's generals. Usher, Primord., 1123. ed. Dub.

last been brought more forward to public notice; for ages they have slept in peace, known only to a few. The possessors of the best manuscripts were too long ungenerously pleased with the exclusive enjoyment of the treasure. They have now fallen into other hands; the copies have been multiplied; one has been published with a translation, and the others have been quoted.

CHAP.
III.

The Welch bards are not the creatures of romance. They were the surviving branch of that wonderful system, which has been popularly known by the name of druidism; though the present professors of bardic science assure us, that the druids, or derwyzon, did not compose the principal order, but were only such of the bards as were appointed to officiate in religious rites³.

The British
Bards,

³ See Mr. Owen's Essay on Bardism, prefixed to his translation of Llywarch Hen, p. 37. I adopt Mr. Owen's orthography of the Welch, therefore whenever z is met with it is to be pronounced like our th in the; dd and dh were formerly used to denote this sound. Mr. Lhuyd, whose Archæologia Britannica is a most valuable attempt at a Thesaurus of the Celtic languages and literature, used Greek characters for the peculiar sounds of the Welch language. See his preface At y Kymry, a translation of which is in the appendix of Nicholson's Irish Historical Library, p. 180. See also his curious essay on the old Welch orthography, Archæol. 225. As Lhuyd's collections for a second volume exist (however imperfect) they ought to be published. Is it beyond hope that some gentleman, versed in Cymric erudition, should give us a complete Thesaurus of the Celtic literature and antiquities? Shall so much curious matter sink into total oblivion?

The druids were anciently known to, and have been commemorated by Cæsar⁴; both they and the bards are mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, by Strabo⁵, by Posidonius⁶, by Lucan, and by Ammianus Marcellinus⁷. These authors represent them as employed, amid other occupations, in celebrating the actions of the great, by the arts of poetry and music.

The superstitions of druidism were terrible, but they fell before the gentle spirit of the christian dispensation. As the benignant precepts of this system attracted the adoration of the natives, the class of druids, already wounded by

⁴ De Bello Gallico, l. 6. c. 13. an invaluable and masterly sketch to which we are greatly indebted. Pliny also mentions the druids, l. 16. c. 95. usually quoted c. 44. and l. 30. c. 4.

⁵ Diod. Siculus, l. 5. p. $\frac{213}{308}$. ed. Rhod.—Strabo, l. 4. p. $\frac{137}{362}$. The passages of these two authors have greatly contributed to our certainty of the hardie antiquity. Appian, in his Celtico, mentions a Musicus, who, in his barbarian music, celebrated the *ymys*, the descent of his hero. This is evidence of the attention of the ancient bards to genealogy. The Welsh profess to have preserved many ancient genealogies.

⁶ We have not his works, but he is quoted by Athenæus in his Deipn. l. 6. p. 246, ed. Casaubon, and again, l. 4. p. 152. Such books as this of Athenæus make us feel severely the depredations of time on ancient literature.

⁷ Amm. Marcell. l. 15. c. 9. p. 75. ed. Gronov. Lucan's beautiful verses, l. 1. and Rowe's musical translation, v. 784—811, are worth remembering. Is it not curious that Mr. Park, whose modest and intelligent account of his adventurous travels will not be soon forgotten, should have found men in Africa in some respects answering to the bards of northern Europe?

the Roman sword, completely expired⁸; but the principal order, the bards, survived their pagan rites, and a regular succession is declared to have continued, though with many vicissitudes of number and popularity, from the age of Cæsar to the present day⁹.

The bardic system, as at present known, expresses an ardent benevolence, a sublime theology, mixed with the peculiar notion of transmigration, which is, however, put into its most plausible shape, and a valuable morality¹⁰.

The

⁸ But though the druidical priesthood was abolished, the bards retained the valued honour of the name. Talieffin says, that pleasing to the sovereign is the lore of the derwyzon. Owen's Dict. voc. Hionon.

⁹ From 1681 a remnant only of the bards has existed, little known, but occasionally holding a gorfez for Glamorgan, the only provincial chair extant. These members were till lately reduced to two. See Owen's Essay, p. 62. About ten years ago Mr. E. Jones, author of the Ancient Relics, revived the custom of the congress at Corwen, in Merionethshire. Since that time it has been held yearly in many towns of North Wales. On 22 September, 1792, a gorfez or supreme congress was held at Primrose Hill. Ancient Relics of Welch Bards, p. 60. But I observe that one of the regular bards declares, that the North Walian bards, "as they call themselves, but improperly, know nothing at all of the ancient and genuine bardism." Williams's Poems, vol. 2. p. 161.

¹⁰ See the extracts from the Welch bardic Triades, annexed to Mr. E. Williams's Poems, vol. 2. p. 227—256, and Mr. W. Owen's Account of Bardism, prefixed to Llywarch Hen, 28—31, and 54—59. But when I recollect that the poems of Talieffin shew him to have been a pious christian as well as a bard, that the family of Aneurin were monks, and that the poetry of Meigant and other

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The bardic doctrines were orally communicated from bard to bard¹¹. The memory of the initiated was consecrated to their preservation, and to perpetuate them the more securely, they were taught in aphorisms, poems, and adages. They were repeated in the appointed congresses of the bards at every gorfez, and no composition, in which they were alluded to, was permitted to be published till the dadgeiniad had recited, and the gorfez had approved¹².

Disciples or awenyziwn were introduced at the gorfezaw, in their habits of intermingled green, blue, and white; if approved, they were exalted to the superior degree of ovyz or ovate, whose robe was green, and whose admission into the revered institution was decided by ballot at the gorfez. They who were initiated into the whole science, and who were thought worthy of the profession, were appointed to the highest

bards are deeply imbued with christian ideas, I cannot but imagine that we see bardism as it was after christianity had enlightened the Welch muses, and not as it was when allied with druidism. The doctrine of transmigration was certainly druidical, but the philanthropy of bardism ill-accords with the terrible rites of the druids. See Diod. Sicul. p. 308.

¹¹ So Cæsar intimates of the druids, de Bello Gall. l. 6. c. 13. Neque fas esse existimant, ea litteris mandare.

¹² Mr. Owen, p. 34—36. Mr. Williams, p. 220, 221. Cæsar says, Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur: itaque nonnulli annos vicanos in disciplinâ permanent, l. 6. c. 13.

honour

honour of the beirz braint, whose distinguishing title was beirz wrth fraint a defod ynys Prydain, bards by the rights and usages of the isle of Britain. In all official acts the bard wore his sky coloured robe. He was authorized to hold a gorfez, to admit disciples and owyzion, to act in embassies, and to discipline the mind of youth¹³.

Their gorfezau were always held in open air, while the sun remained above the horizon¹⁴. The bards assembled within a circle of stones, and the presiding member stood before a large stone in the center¹⁵.

The person of the bard was so sacred, that conflicting armies suspended their weapons at his presence¹⁶; his testimony was preferred to every

¹³ Owen, p. 36, 37. 43. Mr. Jones's Ancient Relics contains many curious circumstances of the poetry and music of the Welch bards. Strabo calls one order of men, whom he associates with bards and druids, *Ouatric*; Marcellinus, Euhages. These cultivated physiology and sacrificed.

¹⁴ The time of anterth was the lawful time for holding the gorfez: anterth is the time of the day when the vapours are dissipated, or the forenoon. Welch law in Owen's Dict. voc. Anterth.

¹⁵ Owen, p. 46, he states the ceremonies and business of a gorfez. The modern bards claim Stonehenge as the cylc cyngrair, the circle of federation, wherein the ancient beirz of the isle of Britain held their gorfezaw.

¹⁶ Diodorus Sic. mentions this circumstance, l. 5. p. 393. Talleffin declares that between two hosts he would not desist without blood. Owen's Dict. voc. Gorlafar.

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other; subsistence was granted to him wherever he went; he was forbidden to bear arms, to satirize, or to be immoral; he was to meddle in no dispute; a naked weapon was never held in his presence; and his duty was to reform manners, to secure peace, and to celebrate the praise of the good and the excelling¹⁷.

We derive the knowledge of the bardic system, not only from the living bards who still survive¹⁸, and who profess to have inherited the verbal communications perpetuated uninterruptedly since the first institution, but also, and more satisfactorily, from statements given from written documents. A synopsis of their doctrines was made about two centuries ago, for the avowed purpose of preventing them from perishing in the vicissitude to which all traditional knowledge is peculiarly subject. A copy of one manuscript written by Llywelyn Sion, a bard, about the year 1560, is declared by a modern bard to be in his possession¹⁹. We are also informed

¹⁷ The Institutional Triades translated by Mr. Williams, vol. 2, p. 230, 231.

¹⁸ Mr. W. Owen, Mr. E. Williams. Two others also assisted at Primrose Hill, Mr. E. Jones, author of the Relics, and Mr. Samwell, whose poetical versions of the Welch muses have much merit. Mr. Owen and Mr. Williams have attained great ability in Cymric erudition.

¹⁹ Mr. Williams, vol. 2, p. 194, and 218. The original was in the

informed by another, whose knowledge of the ancient literature of his country we have reason to admire, from his valuable dictionary, that after public gorsezau became dangerous from the politics of the day, the bards, anxious to preserve their institution, began to commit it to books. To consolidate these private notices several congresses were held from the beginning of the fifteenth century, under the sanction of Sir Richard Neville, and in 1570 one was held under the auspices of the earl of Pembroke for the same purpose. In 1580 the collection was improved, and 1681 completed, at a gorsez under the authority of Sir Richard Basset. This was pronounced to be the fullest illustration of bardism, and this book is said to be in actual existence²⁰.

The written authentication for the ages preceding the fifteenth century consists in the innumerable notices and allusions contained in the bardic MSS. of every age up to Talieffin in the sixth century, whose poems are said to exhibit a complete system of druidism²¹.

The

the possession of Mr. Richard Bradford, of Bettws, near Bridge-end, in Glamorgan.

²⁰ Owen, p. 61, 62. I should presume this and Mr. Williams's to be the same MSS. written in fact in 1681, though containing and authenticating the composition of 1560.

²¹ Williams, p. 194. The Book of Bardism explicitly states,

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The bards, whose works are wanted among the documents of English history, are Talieffin, Aneurin, Myrzin, Meigant, and Golyzan; more ancient than these were Talhaiarn and Cian, who are mentioned by Nennius ²², by Talieffin ²³, and Aneurin ²⁴; but the works of Cian are lost, and of Talhaiarn very few specimens remain; one of these is an interesting prayer ²⁵, another is a little effusion in praise of Beli ²⁶.

“ This theory agrees with what is preserved of the works of the old and primitive bards before the time of the want of learning and knowledge, and of the supineness that has befallen the Cymry.” Owen’s Dict. voc. Anneall. The bardic system, as now extant, can be hardly referable to any one period; I consider it to have been a gradual accumulation of doctrines. It would be highly curious, if it were possible, to separate the druidical notions from the subsequent additions. Have we quite lost the physical knowledge or opinions of the druids?

²² Mr. Evans gives the passage of Nennius, 3 Gale Script. 116, more correctly thus, “ Item Talhaiarn Tatangwn claruit et Aneurin et Talieffin et Llywarch et Cian qui vocatur Gwyngwn simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt.” Dissert. de Bardis annexed to his specimens of Welch poetry, p. 67.

²³ In his poem Angar Cyfyndawd, “ ex Talhaiarni sententia ex-
“ platio erit per baptismum in die supremo;” and, “ quando Cianus
“ multos carmine celebraret,” Evans, ib.

²⁴ In his famous Gododin, “ a son of Cian sprung from the
“ brave Gwyngwn.” Evans, ib.

²⁵ It is preserved in the Book of Bardism, and is quoted by Mr. Owen, Dict. voc. Gwezi.

²⁶ It is verified by a modern bard in Mr. Jones’s Relics, p. 6.; part of it, more literally translated, is in Owen’s Dict. voc. Fur.

Talieffin,

Talieffin, the penbeirz²⁷, the leader of the bards, was a foundling. Elphin, the son of a petty king of Cantrer Gwalod, the lowland canton, a maritime district of Merionethshire, which the fatal irruption of the sea suddenly converted into a dangerous bay²⁸, was bewailing his unsuccessful fishery, when his men discovered a coracle near them. It contained a child in a leathern bag, the celebrated Talieffin. Elphin charitably took him to his father's²⁹ seat, and educated him. The bard, at a mature age, composed a poem on the incident³⁰, which immortalizes the

²⁷ So the Triad in Jones's Ancient Relics, p. 10, intitle him.

²⁸ By a negligence about the flood gates, or from the fury of the ocean, many towns, villages, and palaces were suddenly overwhelmed. Dafyz ap Gwilim mentions it:

Abermo—

Tho' sunk beneath thy billows lie

Proud fanes that once assailed the sky.

Williams's Poems, vol. i. p. 78.

There is a poem of Talieffin on the catastrophe yet existing.

²⁹ The father of Elphin was Gwyzneu Garanhir, who was a bard as well as a king. See many of his verses quoted by Owen in his Dict. voc. Colovyn, Carnezwyr, and Carngrwn.

³⁰ Evan's Specimens, p. 52. The bard fancies himself at the moment of discovery; he exhorts Elphin not to repine that his fishery had succeeded no better; with a noble consciousness of his fame, he makes himself to exclaim, "Tho' I am but weak on my leathern couch, there dwells a gift on my tongue; tho' I am but small and slender on the beach of the foamy main, I shall do thee more good in the day of thy distress than three hundred salmons." p. 56. The incident seems romantic, but the exposition of children has occurred in every age; it was the future celebrity of Talieffin which has made the incident extraordinary; yet must all foundlings be fools?

humanity

humanity of his princely protector. At a future day he displayed his gratitude; his "mead song" liberated Elphin from the prison of Maelgwn³¹.

He became bard to the king of Lochlin or Scandinavia³²; he was the chief bard to Elphin, and was also protected by Urien of Reged, and by Maelgwn, of Gwynez; during part of his life his habitation was in the parish of Llan Rhy-chwyn, in Carnarvonshire³³.

He was flourishing before 570; he was the master of Myrzin the poet³⁴; his son Avaon was both a bard and warrior³⁵, a chief of fame, but fell under the treacherous battle axe of Llaw-

³¹ This song is in Jones's *Ancient Relics*, p. 21.

³² He mentions this curious circumstance in one of his poems. Jones, p. 12, and 100. He derives his vein of poetry from Gridwen the aged, ib. 12. His *Hanes Talieffin*, a poem which he wrote on his life, promises to illustrate his biography if published. Evans, p. 52.

³³ So he sings, "I know the fame of that celebrated genius Aneurin, I, Talieffin, whose habitation is by the pool Geirionyz." Evans, p. 55. This is in the east part of Arvon; at the end of the lake is a small heap of stones, which is shewn as the ruins of his dwelling. Owen, voc. Cair.

³⁴ Jones, p. 18.

³⁵ Talieffin mentions a son Avagzu, whose wit in the competition of songs excelled his own. Owen, voc. Cyvamryson. Ardent was his thrust in combats. Ib. voc. Hwrz. Mr. Jones says, Avaon and Avagzu are the same, *Relics*, p. 14. He was one of the three bards remarked for staining their spears with blood. Owen, voc. Gwaewru. Another Triad records his irresistible valour. Jones, p. 21.

gad³⁶. Talieffin introduced into the Welch poetry many metres from the lyric profody of the Romans, which the Cambrian bards have retained³⁷. He has left many poems on the battles between his friend Urien and the Saxons and others, in which many incidents of the invasion, and sometimes Arthur, are intimated. None of his poems have yet been published but his ode to Elphin, his mead song, his poems on the battles of Gwenystrad and Argoed Llwyvain³⁸, and a celebrated ode³⁹. Mr. Owen has cited numerous passages from all his works in his Welch Dictionary.

Aneurin, mentioned by Talieffin his contemporary, was a chieftain of the Ottadini, a people in Northumberland. He was in the battle of Cattraeth, and was one of the three who only, out of 363 distinguished men, escaped the Saxon

Aneurin.

³⁶ A Triad records this as a detestable act. Jones, p. 10. Another mentions that his assassination was punished. Owen's Llywarch, p. 10.

³⁷ E. Williams's Poems, vol. 2. p. 7.

³⁸ Jones, p. 18, 20.

³⁹ Translated into paraphrastic sapphic verse by D. Jones in 1580. This poem seems to have several bardic notions which need an elaborate critique. Owen's British Remains, p. 123. Lhwyd enumerates many genuine works of Talieffin, which were in the Hengwrt Library, p. 263. They are now printing, but I fear not with a translation.

sword;



sword⁴⁰; he has been intitled the Bard of fluent Praise, of splendid Song, the Monarch of the Bards⁴¹; he is said to have been the brother of Gildas⁴². The rest of his family retired from their homes, which Saxons had seized, and sought the peace of a monastic life⁴³. He was once released from prison by a son of Llywarch Hen⁴⁴, but he perished at last under the battle-axe of Eiddyn⁴⁵, an execrated name; he has left a poem of 363 stanzas, the Gododin, on the battle of Catteraeth⁴⁶.

Myrzin.

Myrzin, the Caledonian, furnamed Wyllt⁴⁷, The Salvage or The Wild, has transmitted himself

⁴⁰ See the verse quoted, Cambrian Register, 1796, p. 15.

⁴¹ The Triad in Owen, voc. Cyvlavan, and the poet in voc. Cyfryd i awr. He mentions Taliessin in his poem. Ib. voc. Cyvrenin.

⁴² Usher distinguishes between Gildas Albanus, who died at Glastonbury, and Gildas Badonicus, p. 442. It was the first Gildas who was one of the twenty-four warlike sons of Nau, whom Caradoc Lancarvensis styles, nobilissimus regum Aquilonalium. The writer published by Joh. a Bosco names the father Caun, whose country was Arecluta on the Cluyd (Dunbarton) and gives him only four sons. Primord. p. 676.

⁴³ Williams, vol. 2. p. 12.

⁴⁴ So he sings in his Gododin. Owen Llywarch, p. 17.

⁴⁵ A Triad records this as one of the three infamous deeds. Jones, p. 10.

⁴⁶ This poem is an instance of the great antiquity of poetic rhymes, and of the aptability of the Welch language for them. The stanzas of ten or eleven lines each generally have only one rhyme. See eleven lines ending with awr, and ten with awn, in Evans, 70, 71. The Welch bards make a new theory of the origin of rhyme necessary.

⁴⁷ Lhwyd, MSS. Brit. Catal. in Archæol. 263.

to our notice by his poem in praise of the orchard, which his patron Gwenzolau had given him. It contains some valuable historical touches⁴⁸. There is another, the Hoienuau, extant, and perhaps others⁴⁹. He suffered under the enmity of Rhyzere, whose children he had injured. He was in the battle of Camlan, also of Arderyz⁵⁰. He visited Wales, and was taught by Talieffin. In one of his battles he slew his nephew. The recollection of the crime, and his sister's upbraidings for the loss of her son, hurried him to madness⁵¹. He retired into a Caledonian wood, in which, at lucid intervals, he deplored his misery. He tells us, that since his reason⁵² was gone with the gloomy sprites of the mountains, he had become pensive and pale. It is awful to hear him exclaim⁵³, "I am a wild terrible screamer, affliction wounds me, raiment covers me not." He was buried in the monastery at Enlli, the island of Bardsey⁵⁴.

⁴⁸ This is published with a translation in Jones's Relics, p. 24.

⁴⁹ Mr. Owen quotes the Hoianau in voc. Gorvoz. He cites very often passages from Myrzin which are not in the Afallenau.

⁵⁰ Afallenau ap Jones, p. 24, 25.

⁵¹ Evans de Bardis, 76. Jones's Relics, p. 23. Lhwyl, p. 263.

⁵² Owen, voc. Agro.

⁵³ Ib. voc. Certhrygiad.

⁵⁴ The biographer of the hermit Ælgar assures us that 20,000 saints repose in it; from this sanctity, from the dangerous passage to it, and for other reasons, he says, it was called the Rome of Britain. Usher, Primord. p. 527.

BOOK
II.Llywarch
Hen.

Llywarch Hen⁵⁵, was prince of Argoed, in Cumberland⁵⁶; he was born in the beginning of the sixth century, and reached into the seventh⁵⁷; he flourished with distinction in the court of Arthur, and consumed his most vigorous years, in conjunction with Urien, in opposing the Anglo-Saxons. He took refuge with his surviving children in Powys, and shared in the wars of the hospitable Cynzylan⁵⁸. But the sharpest pangs of misery assailed him; he outlived his twenty-four sons, and all his protectors. He retired to a solitary hut in Montgomeryshire⁵⁹, and he has painted his forlorn situation with a pathos which no delineation of the miseries of decrepitude has surpassed. When we hear the aged warrior, after a recollection of the deeds of his youth, addressing his best friend, his wooden crook, requesting it to bear with him, to be content to support a mourning old man⁶⁰; when he asks it, if it is not winter, the season of festivity, but if his bed-side was not void of greeting visits⁶¹;

⁵⁵ See his genealogy and kinsmen in Owen's life, prefixed to his works, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Owen, p. 9.

⁵⁷ Ib. p. 6.

⁵⁸ Ib. p. 9—14.

⁵⁹ Ib. p. 15.

⁶⁰ His Elegy on Old Age, p. 121.

⁶¹ Ib. p. 119.

when

when we hear him assert that what he loved in his youth was become hateful to him; that the four most afflicting evils had met in him, the cough, old age, sickness, and grief⁶²; when we read this burst of anguish, "I am old, I am alone, I am decrepid and cold;" when we find that the fair love him not; that he is resorted to by none; that he cannot move himself along; that he has become loathsome; that he is befriended by neither sleep nor gladness; and when roused by his complicated miseries, he exclaims, "Ah death! why wilt *thou* not befriend me⁶³!" can we withhold the tribute of applause to his genius, or the tear of commiseration at his distress?

This interesting character has left many poems, for a translation of which our history and literature are deeply indebted to Mr. Owen⁶⁴. His elegies on Geraint ab Erbin prince of Devon, on Urien Reged, on Cynzylan, on Cadwallon, and upon himself, are eminently historical⁶⁵. They are not less conspicuous for their poetic

⁶² His Elegy on Old Age, p. 123.

⁶³ Ib. p. 125.

⁶⁴ They were published in 1792. I hope the same gentleman will be encouraged to translate all the old Welch poetry of the fifth and sixth centuries; no one is fitter for the task.

⁶⁵ Page 3. p. 23. p. 71. p. 111. p. 119.

BOOK
II.Other
Bards.

energy. His other poems may interest the moralist⁶⁶. He died at an age almost romantic⁶⁷.

Meigant is less known to us, though his poem teems with historical allusions⁶⁸. He lived in the same century.

Golyzan was the bard of Cadwallader⁶⁹, whose Arymes Prydein vawr, the great armed confederacy of Britain, is of great consequence to English history⁷⁰. He also perished by the hand of violence⁷¹.

Other bards are mentioned, whose works are quoted, but have not been published⁷².

It was a rule of the bardic system, that the professors should not bear arms; but yet we find many, who come to us under this title, to whom the laurels of Mars were as precious as those of

⁶⁶ As the Gorwynion, p. 13, the Tribanau or Triplets, p. 45, the Satirical Triplets, p. 51. His Address to the Cuckoo abounds with many pathetic touches on his age and misfortunes, p. 59.

⁶⁷ Mr. Owen calculates it at nearly 150 years, p. 6.

⁶⁸ He is very often quoted in the Welch Dictionary. I observe that the Cambrian Register for 1795, p. 404, says, we have only one poem of his, an Elegy on Cynzytan.

⁶⁹ Lhwyd, 256, places him in 660.

⁷⁰ Part of this is published in the Cambrian Register 1796, p. 554.

⁷¹ The Triad in Jones, p. 10. The essay on the Welch poetry and music, in the Cambrian Register for 1795, is very curious, and deserves an attentive perusal.

⁷² As Gwyzneu Garanhir, mentioned before, and Avaon, who is quoted in the Welch Dictionary as in voc. Arluaw, Arlevaru, Arluziaw, &c.

the

the peaceful muses. The Triades mention three bards who stained their spears with blood⁷⁴, but it must be conceded that such a denomination implies a censured singularity. The present bards require that an important distinction should be made between the bards and the poets⁷⁵; and it is observable that the Triades also mention the ofer-feirz as an inferior order of poetical genius⁷⁶. Yet Aneurin, who is called the medeyrn beirz, the monarch of the bards⁷⁷, was in the battle of Catteraeth. Llywarch Hen was a warrior; so was Myrzin; so in a later age was Meilir⁷⁸. The muse of Talieffin was greatly devoted to sing warlike atchievements. Perhaps however as one office of the regular bards was to commemorate laudable actions, the patriotic exertions of his countrymen against the Anglo-Saxon invaders might fairly claim the lay even of a philanthropic mind. It is to be wished that the Welch literati would give us separate lists of the prydyz or

⁷⁴ Triad in Owen, voc. Gwaewruz.

⁷⁵ Owen's Essay on Bardism, p. 80.

⁷⁶ Jones, p. 10. But among the ofer-feirz we find Arthur and Cadwallon.

⁷⁷ The Triad in Owen, voc. Cyvlavan.

⁷⁸ He was the bard, embassador, and warrior of Griffin, son of Conan; he says of himself, "I was the soldier of my king;"—and "we broke the naval depredation."—See an extract from his works, Evans, p. 81.

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II.

poets, and of the beirz, or the initiated successors of the druidical bards⁷⁹.

⁷⁹ At the end of his poems, which appeared in 1794, Mr. E. Williams proposed to publish, by subscription, the History of the ancient British bards and druids, compiled from authentic Welch MSS.—I hope he intends to bring it forward, and that he will not, like Leland, occupy himself in reading ancient MSS, and yet leave the world no richer than he found it. When a gentleman by painful study has accumulated great information on a subject little known, it is noble to impart it.

to The Irish in Owee, see Owee.
to Owee's Irish, in Bards, p. 30.
to Owee, p. 30. But among the others we find Arthur and
Catholien.
to The Irish in Owee, see Owee.
to He was the first, and warrior of Catholien, son of
Catholien; he lived of himself. "I was the father of my king;—
and we have the royal deposition."—See an extract from
a writer, Bards, p. 31.

poets

F

CHAP. IV.

The Conflicts between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons commemorated by the British writers.

THE two principal causes of the success of the Anglo-Saxon invaders have been already intimated: they were the numerous independent sovereignties which divided the force of the island, and the unceasing civil wars which occupied these petty kings in personal competitions.

The defective history of the period will not allow us to present an accurate picture of this British polyarchy; but so many traits may be collected as will convey an impressive idea of this unfortunate political state—unfortunate because it made the island but as a reed against foreign aggression, and because depopulation, ignorance, and ferocity must have been rapidly following in the train of those intestine conflicts, which almost every district witnessed.

In Wales no fewer than fourteen co-existing kingdoms are mentioned in some part of this

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II.

period⁸⁰. England appears to have contained an equal proportion: we hear of five in Cumbria⁸¹, three in Deira, and Bernicia⁸², and several among the northern Britons, who stretched from Cumbria to the firths of Forth and Clyde⁸³.

The state of the provinces south of the Humber is less known, but among these we find one in Kent⁸⁴, one in Somersetshire⁸⁵, one in Cornwall⁸⁶, one in Devonshire⁸⁷, and another in the west of England⁸⁸. From one circumstance it would seem that the gavel-kind laws of succession, which shared the property equally between all the children, operated on the rights of sovereignty, for a sovereign is mentioned who left seven sons; these divided his kingdom into seven independent parts, which conceded a superiority

⁸⁰ See Carte's History of England, vol. 1. p. 188, 200.

⁸¹ Nennius, p. 117, mentions four exclusive of Llywarch Hen.

⁸² The Triad in Jones's Ancient Relics, p. 11.

⁸³ We read of Mynnydawg, sovereign of Edinburgh, Owen's Llywarch, p. 73; Elifr of the great clan near Edinburgh, Ib. p. 33, and 11; Gwrthmiol a wledig, or king among the northern Britains, Ib. p. 93; also the king on the Clyde at Dumbarton, with whom Arthur fought, Usher, p. 676. Aneurin in his Gododin mentions others.

⁸⁴ Nennius, c. 36.

⁸⁵ Caradoc in vit. Gildas apud Usher, p. 469.

⁸⁶ Jeffry and others mention this sovereignty.

⁸⁷ Gildas, p. 10.

⁸⁸ Natanleod, who fell before Cordic. Sax. Chron. p. 17.

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CHAP.
IV.

to the eldest". If this custom governed in other districts, the multiplicity of rulers was an evil which had no tendency to decrease, but that the sword was active to counteract the fertility of nature.

It would have been a miraculous phenomenon in political history if such a quantity of rival chiefs had lived in that peaceful fraternity which reason dictates, but which frenzied enthusiasm only can expect from competitors in power, in pleasure, or in wealth. The British kings astonished the world with no such utopian wisdom. Their activity in civil warfare first unsheathed the hostile sword of Hengist. He saw that they were inveterate to pursue their quarrels of dominion, and that an invader would therefore only have to wrestle with the local strength of the districts he attempted or endangered. He commenced the daring enterprize. He was followed by many imitators; and though the hated Saxons swarmed on every coast from Edinburgh to Cornwall, and Picts and Scots assailed from Cornwall to Anglesey, yet never was the fiend of civil murder banished from the island⁹⁰; it even followed

⁸⁹ Johan. Tinmuthensis vit. Gundlei et Cadoci ap. Usher, p 464.

⁹⁰ Gildas is perpetually repeating the civil discords. Even after the battle of Bath he says, "cessantibus externis bellis sed non ta-

HISTORY OF THE

followed the Cymry over the Wye. The crime by which they lost England was as eagerly prosecuted in Wales, till the sceptre of the Anglo-Saxons stretched in progressive triumph from London to Carnarvon.

These independent princes and intestine discords unfold the mystery of the Saxon conquests. The invaded sovereigns seem to have been left by their jealous neighbours to contend unassisted against the common enemies. The chieftains either coming singly into the field, or united but in transient and mistrustful combination, the Saxons never had the force of the nation to withstand, and never endured a fatal repulse.

Not only the arm of Ambrosius was weakened by the quarrel of Guitolin⁹¹, but the valour and success of Arthur were three times arrested by personal competition. To recover his wife he attacked the king of Somersetshire⁹²; to extend his dominions he maintained a furious conflict in the north with the brother of Gil-

men civilibus ;" and for this reason the civitates were not, as before, inhabited, sed desertæ, dirutæ que hætenus squalent. Sect. 26. So in his address to his contemporary Aurelius, he asks him if he is not pacem patriæ mortiferum ceu serpentem odiens, civilia que bella et crebras injuste prædas sitiens, p. 11. So Maglocun is intitled, multorum tyrannorum depulso, tam regno quam etiam vita, p. 12.

⁹¹ Nennius, p. 118.

⁹² Caradoc. Lanc. ap Usher, p. 469.

das⁹³; and to preserve his own power he endured the fatal assault of Medrawd his nephew. We need enumerate no more incidents to prove the ambitious madness of the day.

A British Triad commemorates the feast of Ambrosius after his victory over the Saxons⁹⁴, but has recorded no circumstance of locality or time.

The first battle specifically stated in the Welch poetry, which has been published, is the battle at Llongborth. In this conflict Arthur was the commander in chief of the toil of war⁹⁵, and Geraint ab Erbin was a chief of Devonshire united with him against the Saxons. Llywarch Hen, in his elegy on his friend, describes the progress of the battle: The shout of onset, and the fearful obscurity which followed the shock, are succeeded by the terrible incidents which alarm humanity into abhorrence of war; the edges of the blades in contact, the gushing of

530.

Battle of
Llong-
borth.

⁹³ Caradoc narrates this war, in which perhaps that battle occurred, which Nennius places in *silva Caledonis*, p. 114. Arthur slew Huel, and rejoiced extremely, *quod superaverat suum fortissimum hostem*. Caradoc ap Usher, p. 678. The Register of Glastonbury monastery calls Huel *regem Scotiæ*, and mentions of Arthur, that *Scotia subjugata rediit cum triumpho*, ib. 677. But the term *Scotia* was of subsequent origin. The region south of the Forth and Clyde was occupied by Britons at this period.

⁹⁴ Jones's *Ancient Relics*, p. 80.

⁹⁵ Llywarch Hen's *Elegies*, p. 9.

blood, the weapons of the heroes with gore fast dropping, men surrounded with terror, the crimson gash upon the chieftain's brow, biers with the dead and reddened men, a tumultuous running together, the combatants striving in blood to the knees, and ravens feasting on human prey⁹⁶, compose the dismal picture which this ancient bard has transmitted to us of a battle in which he was personally engaged.

The valiant Geraint was slain; slaughtering his foes he fell⁹⁷. The issue of the conflict is not precisely stated, but some ambiguous expressions concur with the absence of all triumphant language to indicate that the Britons did not prevail.

The translator of Llywarch dates the fall of Geraint in 530⁹⁸; and mentions Llongborth, which literally implies the haven of ships, as some harbour on the southern coast, and probably Portsmouth⁹⁹. On referring to the Saxons, we find that in 530 Cerdic and Cynric took the Isle of Wight¹⁰⁰. It is not improbable

⁹⁶ Llywarch Hen's Elegies, p. 3—7.

⁹⁷ Ib. p. 7.

⁹⁸ Ib. p. 3.

⁹⁹ Ib. p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Saxon Chron. p. 18. Florent. Wigorn, p. 210. Ethelwerd, p. 834.

that

that the battle of Llongborth preceded this capture; but till all the British authors of this period are published, and the ancient topography of the Britons is more disclosed, no certainty can be stated on these points.

Llywarch mentions another battle of Arthur, on the Llawen. Gwen, the poet's favourite son, exerted himself in the struggle. Arthur did not recede, and Gwen, "as he was *my* son," did not retreat¹⁰¹. These expressions may lead us to infer the success of the Britons; but the laurel is very coolly claimed¹⁰².

Battle on
the Llawen.

Of the contests which ensued before East Anglia, Essex, Mercia, Suffex, and Wessex, were colonized by Saxons, we have no further information from the British writers, except of one celebrated battle, which, though mentioned by Gildas, Nennius¹⁰³, and Talieffin, and the British Chronology, none of the Saxons but Bede¹⁰⁴ has noticed.

Gildas intimates, that until the battle of Bath the Saxons and the Britons alternately con-

Battle of
Bath.

¹⁰¹ Llywarch Hen's Elegy on Old Age, p. 131.

¹⁰² We may exert our conjectures on the position of this river; the Leven in Cumberland, the Lyne in Northumberland, and the Lun which runs from Westmoreland into Lancashire, have each pretensions from the similarity of sound.

¹⁰³ Gildas, f. 26. Nennius, f. 63.

¹⁰⁴ Bede only abridges Gildas here.

quered;

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II.

quered; and that this was almost the last, but not the least slaughter of the invaders. Nennius makes it the twelfth of Arthur's battles. Taliessin commemorates it:—"Woe to them the foolish when the battle of Bath ensued." He proceeds to mention that Arthur, benn haelion, the leader of the liberal ones, fought in it; and implies that the mechdyrn ygogled, the northern princes, were avenged by it¹⁰⁵. The position of this battle has been disputed¹⁰⁶, and its chronology¹⁰⁷ is not decided. The Welch MSS, in the red book of Hergeft, says, that 128 years intervened from the age of Gwrtheyrn to the battle of Badon, in which Arthur and the elders conquered the Saxons¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁵ The verse of Taliessin is in Pryse's *Defensio*, p. 120.

¹⁰⁶ Mr. Carte stations the Mount of Badon in Berkshire, p. 205. Usher places the battle at Bath, p. 477. Camden also thinks that Badon Hill is the Bannetdowne, or that which overhangs the little village Bathstone, and exhibits still its bulwarks and a rampire. Gibson, ed. p. 470.

¹⁰⁷ Gildas in a passage of difficult construction says, as we interpret that, it took place forty-four years before he wrote,—*annum obfessionis Badonici montis, qui que quadragessimus quartus ut novi oritur annus, mense jam primo emenso qui jam et meæ natiuitatis est, s. 26.*—Bede construed it to mean the forty-fourth year after the Saxon invasion, l. i. c. 16. but the words of Gildas do not support him. Matt. West, p. 186, places it in 520. Langhorn, p. 62, prefers 511.

¹⁰⁸ See this published in *Cambrian Register*, p. 313. Computing the years of this chronology preceding the conquest we find the battle of Bath to be placed in 554, which is a much later date than any other authority supposes.

The patriotic Britons, who struggled with Ida and his angles in the north of Britain, engross the largest share of the bardic lay. Talieffin, Llywarch, and Aneurin, have consecrated their memories in imperishable verse.

We have mentioned that Ida landed in 547. The provinces north of the Humber, Deifyr and Brynaich, were possessed by three sovereigns, of whom we know little but that they were bards, and the children of bards¹⁰⁹. Four princes reigned in Cumbria; Urien, Rhyzerch, Gwallog, and Morgant¹¹⁰. Llywarch enjoyed a little principality in Argoed, Aneurin in Gododin, and some other princes ruled over Britons beyond them.

Which of these first raised their weapons against the invaders does not yet appear. The poems hitherto published or described open the scene of conflict at a period when Ida had made some progress in his ambitious undertaking.

The British defence appears to have been vigorous in these districts, and among the warriors of the island Urien of Reged, and his son Owen, shine with superior glory. Twelve

¹⁰⁹ The Triad in Jones's Ancient Relics, p. 11.

¹¹⁰ Nennius, p. 117.

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II.

poems of Talieffin record ten of their manly struggles; two of these have been presented to us.

548.

Battle of
Argoed
Llyvain.

In the battle of Argoed Llyvain¹¹¹, Ida is characterized with the appellation of Flamzwyn, or Flame-bearing, an epithet of dismal sound, as it may imply the devastations which accompanied his progress. On a Saturday he hastened with four legions to surround the chiefs of Gozeu and Reged. He spread from Argoed to Arfynnyz. He presumptuously demanded submission and hostages. The gallant Owen exclaimed, "Rather let the gash appear;" and Chenau declared he would be a lion hewed with a hatchet before he would give hostages to any. Urien indulged their ardour; he commanded the banners to ascend the mountains; the streams reddened; the ground was strewn with blood. Impressed with his patron's valour, the bard hopes, that "when with years he shall fail, and death shall want his song, he may know no comfort unless he is praising Urien." The event of the struggle is not clearly expressed.

Battle of
Gwenystrad.

At the mound of Gwenystrad the Britons of Cattræth assembled round their king, Urien, "the faithful exchanger of the battle." Inspired

¹¹¹ See the original in Jones's Ancient Relics, p. 18. I regret that any historical poem should be translated into verse.

with mead, they rushed like furious waves over the region. The battle raged near the ford. The sword of Urien abounded with deadly wrath on the bucklered men; he assailed them furiously at Llechwen Galystan ¹¹³.

In 560 Ida died. The Britons make the sword of Owen the minister of his fate ¹¹⁴. His son Theodoric was chased by Urien into Holy Island; but while the magnanimous Briton was besieging the invader, Morgant, who governed another district of Cumbria, procured a wretch treacherously to murder him ¹¹⁵. At Aber Leu "the mild governor, the magnificent chief, the shield of his country, the prompt defender of his neighbourhood, fell ¹¹⁵." Llywarch has commemorated his friend with manly and lavish praise. In this elegy the civil fury of the Britons is more than once alluded to. The bard complains of Morgant's collecting a host to burn his land, and of Dunawd warring with the chil-

567.

¹¹³ The original is in Jones, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ Carte, vol. i. p. 209. mentions Talieffin as the authority for this fact. The Saxon Chronicle mentions the time of his death, but not the manner, p. 20.

¹¹⁵ Nennius, p. 117.

¹¹⁶ Llywarch's Elegy on Urien, p. 23. He was a great encourager of bards. Talieffin calls him the most generous of men. Owen, voc. Byz. This bard seems to have cherished the most honourable feelings of gratitude; he is never weary of praising Urien. For Urien's lineage and kindred, see the Triad in Owen, voc. Calon.

dren of Urien ¹¹⁶. No hero possesses a chaplet of fame more impressive or more deserved than that which Llywarch has composed for the king of Reged ¹¹⁷.

The energetic genius of Aneurin has preserved to us another conflict at Cattereth. The British force was a confederation of the princes between the Wall and the Firth of Clyde ¹¹⁸. Three hundred and sixty-three of the warriors wore the golden torques ¹¹⁹. Mynnyzawg, of Edinburgh, commanded the united Britons. Many distinguished heroes assisted him, whose names yet

¹¹⁶ Llywarch, p. 35. 37.

¹¹⁷ Llywarch says, he overcame the land of Brynaich, p. 27.

¹¹⁸ The verse of Aneurin, which enumerates them, is in the Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 17.

¹¹⁹ Aneurin, quoted in Owen's Llywarch, p. 73 and 135.—and Evans, p. 73.—On this ornament a note may be allowed:—"In 1692 an ancient golden torques was dug up near the castle of Harlech, in Merionethshire. It is a wreathed bar of gold, or perhaps three or four rods jointly twisted, about four feet long, flexible, but naturally bending only one way in form of a hatband; it is hooked at both ends; it is of a round form, about an inch in circumference, and weighs eight ounces." Gibson's Additions to Camden, p. 658. ed. 1695.—Bonduca wore one, Xiphillin, Epit. Dionis. p. 169. ed. H. S. 1591. and the Gauls used them, Liyy, l. 36. c. 40. Gibson quotes a passage of Virgil, *Æneid*, l. 5. v. 559. which implies that the Trojan youth wore them.—Llywarch, p. 135. says, that his 24 sons were eudorchawg, or wearers of the golden torques, which, from the above description, we perceive was not a chain.—Llywarch, p. 73. mentions Cynzylan as wearing it. It is not clear whether it was an honour confined to birth or office, or whether it was worn by all who chose to purchase it.

live to praise in the poem. But alas! the sweet mead was too profusely quaffed; the carousal, which should have awaited the victory, unhappily preceded the battle¹²⁰. Dreadful was the consequence; the sword of the Angles mowed down the inebriated warriors; of the 363 nobles who rushed into the conflict, three only survived it. The bard was one¹²¹.

A poem of Meigant mentions a British expedition to *Caer Lwydwed*, or *Lincoln*, under *Morial*¹²², and therefore may contain some information on the struggles of *Mercia*, or *East Anglia*. *Myrzin* mentions the conflict of *Arderyz*.

¹²⁰ Many passages of the poem imply this incident. See those in Owen's Dict. under the words *Cynhen*, *Cynrenyn*, *Cymhwyllaw*, *Cydnaid*, *Catau*.

¹²¹ *Aneurin* in *Evans de Bardis*, p. 73.

¹²² Owen's Dict. voc. *Buyn*, and his *Llywarch*, p. 93. *Taliesin* mentions a *Morial*: "And *Morial's* steed of tumult shall appear before the fiercely impassioned host." Dict. voc. *Gwynaug*.

C H A P. V.

*Arthur as he appears in Tradition.—His probable History.*BOOK
II.The Ar-
thur of tra-
dition.

AMONGST the defenders of Britain, one proud name exists, which is more familiar to mankind than any other, and which has too long engrossed attention to be hastily passed over. Into such a gigantic port has Arthur been magnified, that he bestrides Europe, and by his immeasurable greatness almost defies our comprehension¹²³. The glance of man cannot traverse the endless colossus, by magic first gifted with life^a, and by death not shrouded from the conscious world, but extolled into a glaring phantom, whose sword reached from Scandinavia to Spain, and before whom all the monarchs of the east and west, with their defeated armies and subjected nations, fell humbly prostrate^b.

Yet however distorted by his disproportionate

¹²³ All the notes referred to by alphabetical letters will be found in the Appendix at the end of this volume. As they principally relate to the traditions which have been circulated concerning Arthur, it was thought advisable to place them apart from the history.

magni-

magnitude, the distinguished rank which Arthur has for ages occupied in the songs and tales, not only of his own friends and their descendants, but of his neighbours and enemies °, forbids us to suffer him to sleep forgotten in his Avallo-
nian tomb. Was it to be expunged from past existence, as well as from memory, that he and his proud knights filled England, Scotland, France, and Denmark ^d with their triumphs, and Caerleon with philosophers °? For this did the kings of Greece and Africa, of Spain and Parthia, of Phrygia and Egypt, of Iturea and Babylon, march in union with the Roman generals ^f to be destroyed by his Caliburno, which no armour could resist ^g? For this did he prostrate 840 enemies in one battle with his single arm ^h? For this did Merlin ⁱ construct that enchanted table, which the glory of its order has so renowned ^k; which three great cities in Britain witnessed ^l (though an invidious neighbour transfers it to Charlemagne ^m), and present him with that steely dragon, who breathed in flames from his fearful standard ⁿ? For this did the compassionate Morgana ° transport, by her fairy power, the hero dying by treachery into the island of Avallonia to heal his wounds, monopolize his attentions, and in some future age restore him to the world ^p? Awake ye heroes who have so long

Q

vibrated

vibrated on the harps of Cambria and Bretagne^t,
 sound fiercely your buffalo horns, and pass once
 more before us in review, while your inspired
 bards, Talieffin^r, Myrzin^r, Melchin^t, and he
 who in your palace lived the discontented guest,
 the mournful, time-honoured Llywarç Hen^v, ex-
 tend the horns of mead, proclaim your stupen-
 dous deeds, and immortalize Carduelⁿ, Caer-
 leon^w, Cardigan, and Camalot^z.

Alas ! the majestic apparitions, though they
 have long stalked the world with admiration
 running wildly in their train, can return no more
 in visible magnificence. Like dim stars, shoot-
 ing faintly through the mist-wrapt night, a very
 doubtful glimpse of their glory descends to us.
 Arthur, the muse's friend, a muse himself^r,
 though an all-radiant sun in tradition, is in his-
 tory but a nebulous and distant star^z; with sha-
 dowing gloom he reposes in the records of truth,
 though in the flattering atmosphere of Pierian
 fiction he moves along in brilliancy all diffusing,
 with a host of constellations emulous of his
 glory. Sometimes a thunderbolt of war he deals
 destruction through the Saxon ranks, and anni-
 hilates armies by his presence, rushes over Cale-
 donia, and across the ocean to Scandinavia,
 bursts upon Gaul with the same omnipotence of
 slaughter, and at last vanishes from the earth
 before

before a traitor in the field of Camlan and the grave of Glastenbury. Seated at other times by his lovely but perfidious queen Gwenhyfar, or Guenora, of forbidding eye, a splendid court bow before him, and knights, unparalleled for bravery, await his nod to range the world in quest of vice, and to rescue the lowly from the oppressions of the proud. Guenora, indeed, smiles in stately beauty, and proudly receives the adoration of the beholding; but the stain of unchastity is upon her (A). Polluted with her husband's blood, which his kinsman, with whom she associated, shed, she sinks a ghastly fury into infamy. The whips of the satyrists pursue her, and she is now remembered only to be abhorred.

Of the illustrious knights who adorned his court, the monarch himself has celebrated three (B), Mael, and Lluz, and Caradoc, the pillar of Wales. Three others the Cambrian Triads have consecrated for the eloquence of their golden tongues (C); but of those who have preserved the fairest celebrity through later periods, Gauvain the sage and faithful (D), Lancelot the gallant (E), and Tristram the warrior bard (F), are conspicuous to our notice. To detail their feats would require the pen of a Statius and the faith of a legen-

dary. The zeal of the minstrels has made the task superfluous.

Modern criticism may inscribe with safety the testimony of their existence and general merit; but, justly cruel, it must erase from the tablets of truth almost all their numerous acts so loudly resounded; the chimeras of Turpin and Jeffry might otherwise as well be legitimated at once, and every barrier thrown down, which the wisdom of mankind has erected to separate history from fiction; and yet, so many fine effusions of fancy have adorned the fantastic traditions, so often have the adventures excited the throb of rapture in the bosoms of millions, that we must dismiss the pleasing pageants with regret. May the epic muse compensate the coyness of the historical, and may Arthur and his friends reign in poetry as splendidly as they have flourished in tradition (G).

The probable history of Arthur.

The authentic actions of Arthur have been so disfigured by the gorgeous additions of the minstrels and of Jeffry, that many writers have denied that he ever lived ¹³⁴; but this is an extreme

as

¹³⁴ His existence was doubted very early. Genebrard said, it might be inferred from Bede, *Arcturum magnum nunquam extitisse*. Chron. l. 3. ap. Usher, 522.—Sigebert, who wrote in the twelfth century, complained that, except in the then newly published British history,

as wild as the romances which occasioned it. His existence is testified by his contemporaries, whose genius has survived the ruin of twelve centuries; and the British bards are a body of men too illustrious for their personal merit and wonderful institution to be discredited when they attest. The tales that all human perfection was collected in Arthur¹²⁵; that giants and kings who never existed, and nations which he never saw, were subdued by him; that he went to Jerusalem for the sacred cross¹²⁶, or that he not only excelled the experienced past, but also the possible future¹²⁷, we may, if we please, recollect only to

history, nullam de eo mentionem invenimus. 1 Pistori Rer. German. 504.—Of this history of Jeffry he remarks justly, “Hæc omnia nullam fidei auctoritatem videntur habere si cum cæteris historiis conferantur,” p. 516. Our Milton is also sceptical about him. See his work in 1 Kennett’s History of England, p. 34.—Many others are as unfriendly to his fame.

¹²⁵ And in short God has not made, since Adam was, the man more perfect than Arthur. Gr. ab Arthur. Owen, voc. Cwbyl.

¹²⁶ Nennius, or his interpolator Samuel, pledges himself that the fragments of the cross brought by Arthur were kept in Wedale, six miles from Mailros. 3 Gale, p. 114.—Langhorn, Chron. p. 47. adduces Jerom and others to prove that Britons used to visit Jerusalem.

¹²⁷ Joseph of Exeter, in his elegant Antiocheis, after contrasting the inferior achievements of Alexander, Cæsar, and Hercules, with those of his flos regum Arthurus, adds,

Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sidera solem
Æquant; annales Latios, Graios que revolve;
Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes
Solut; præteritis melior, majorque futuris.

Ap. Usher, p. 519.

despise;

despise; but when all the fictions are removed, and those incidents only are retained which the sober criticism of history sanctions with its approbation, a fame ample enough to interest the judicious, and to perpetuate his honourable memory, will still continue to bloom.

We are not yet empowered to point out the exact province from which Arthur emerged. We hear of two kings of Gwent in the sixth century of the name of Arthruis; one, the son of Mouric, king of Glamorgan; the other, son of Fernvail¹²⁸; but whether either of these was the conqueror of the Saxons, or whether his reputation had occasioned others to impose the name on their children, or whether it be the same name, is uncertain. It is affirmed that Noe, son of an Arthur, gave Llandilovawr to the church¹²⁹. If this was a child of the celebrated Arthur, his donation announces a sovereignty in Caermarthenshire; but in these days of confusion, when chieftains fled from one country to another, we

¹²⁸ Carte, 1. p. 202, states, that the ancient register of Landaff cites at length the grants of these two kings to the church of Landaff.—Jeffry places his birth at Tindagel, in Cornwall, l. 8. c. 20.

¹²⁹ Pryse mentions this grant from the register of Landaff, p. 127. Dr. Griffin, in his genealogies in the appendix to Williams's Monmouthshire, No. 11, gives to Arthur a different parentage. Does no genealogy of him exist which can be authenticated by ancient MSS?

cannot

cannot infer the first residence of the father from the situation of his children. When Melva, king of Somersetshire, deprived him of his wife, he appeared at the head of the men of Cornwall and Devon ¹³⁰; when he gave his splendid feast after his victory over the Saxons, Caerleon on the Uik was the scene of the carousal ¹³¹. These incidents seem to station him in various places, and forbid us to decide positively in favour of either.

The chronology of his first appearance is also undetermined. We may chuse the period which seems to us most probable, but we have no right to force it on the belief of others. The æra which we should prefer would be one which did not precede 528 ¹³². On such a subject it would be ludicrous to attempt precision.

In 519, Cerdic obtained the decisive victory at Chardford, which established him in the sovereignty of Wessex ¹³³. With whom he fought we

¹³⁰ Caradoc ap. Usher, p. 469.

¹³¹ The Triad in Jones, p. 80.

¹³² There are above 10 different guesses as to the year of his reign, from 458 to 528.—John of Tinmouth, who seems to have had some knowledge of the events of this period, places his appearance in the 10th year of Cerdic's reign. Usher, 468.—Ran. Polychron. 224. 3 Gale, quotes a Henry to the same purpose.

¹³³ Saxon Chronicle, p. 18.

know not. It is 527 before another struggle occurred; and this was fought at Chardsey, in Bucks¹³⁴. We may concede the command of the Britons to Arthur if we please; but we cannot, if rigidly interrogated, produce evidence of the fact.

In 530, if that was the particular year in which Geraint fell, we can authenticate his presence in the battle of Llongborth¹³⁵. We have already intimated another battle on the Llawen, in which Arthur also seems to have been the general¹³⁶.

He may have fought the twelve battles mentioned by Nennius¹³⁷; but it is not beyond the rules of fair criticism to doubt if they were all directed against the Anglo-Saxons. We know that a part of Arthur's valour was exerted against his ambitious competitors: he once led on the warriors of Cornwall and Devon against the king of Somersetshire¹³⁸, and he is also declared to have maintained a war in the north against a British prince. Huel, the brother of Gildas Albanus, would not submit to the dominion of Arthur. A vigorous war destroyed the refractory chief,

¹³⁴ Saxon Chronicle, p. 18.

¹³⁵ Llywarch, p. 9.

¹³⁶ Llywarch, p. 131.

¹³⁷ Nennius, p. 114.

¹³⁸ Caradoc ap. Uther, p. 469. c. 13.

and Arthur rejoiced that his most formidable enemy was no more ¹³⁹.

Four of the twelve battles have been ably illustrated by Mr. Whitaker ¹⁴⁰. Mr. Camden and others had remarked, that the Douglas, on which Nennius had placed them, was a river in Lancashire. The historian of Manchester has commented on the positions of these conflicts with great local knowledge; his fancy, though often too prolific, and even on this portion of our history brilliantly active, yet describes these with so much probability, that we may adopt his sketches as history.

The battle of Badon ¹⁴¹ Mount has been celebrated as his greatest and most useful achievement; a long interval of repose to the Britons

¹³⁹ Caradoc in vita Gildæ ap. Usher, c. 15. p. 678. He lived at Alclud, which Humfrey Lhuyd says is that which is called a Scotis Dounbridon. Com. Hist. Brit. 39. b.—E. Lhuyd states, that Caer Alclud was the ceann-bhaile, the chief city of the kingdom of Cumbria, which, according to some, is Dun Breahron (Dunbarton) according to others is Cathair Ghlascoo (Glasgow).—Irish Preface in his Archæologia, Tit. 10. third page beyond p. 312.

¹⁴⁰ Hist. Manch. v. 2. p. 43—45.

¹⁴¹ Badon has been generally supposed to have been the city of Bath. John of Tinmouth so explains it, quæ nunc Bathonia vocatur.—Usher, c. 13. p. 476.—Humfrey Lhuyd, a Cambro-Briton, in his Commentarioli Britanniae Descrip. Frag. p. 16. says, the Britons called Bath Caer Badon, and Bristol Caer Oder yn naut Badon, in Badon valley.—There are many hills about Bath and Bristol.—Baz and bazon in Welch signify a bath.—Mr. Whitaker prefers Badbury castle, in another county. 2 Manchester, p. 57.

BOOK
II.

has been announced as its consequence; yet it is curious to remark, that this mighty victory only checked the progress of Cerdic, and does not appear to have produced any further success. We hear not of the vindictive pursuit of Arthur, of the invasion of Hampshire, or the danger of Cerdic. The Saxon was penetrating onwards even towards Wales or Mercia; he was defeated, and did not advance. No other conflicts ensued. Arthur was content to repulse. This must have been because he wanted power to pursue. Arthur was, therefore, not the warrior of irresistible strength; he permitted Cerdic to retain his settlements at Wesssex, and such an acquiescence accredits the Chronicle, which asserts, that after many fierce conflicts, he conceded to the Saxon the counties of Southampton and Somerset ¹⁴².

This state of moderate greatness suits the character in which the Welch bards exhibit Arthur; they commemorate him, but it is not with that excelling glory with which he has been surrounded by subsequent traditions. The song

¹⁴² Rad. quoted by Polychronica, says, in quibusdam chronicis legitur, quod tandem Arthurus extædiatus, post 26 annum adventus Cerdici fidelitate sibi jurata dedit ei Hampteshiram et Somersetam, p. 224.—The Chronicle of Ricardi Divisionensis, in MSS. at Cambridge affirms the same. It is quoted by Langhorn, Chron. Rer. Anglorum, p. 70.

sometimes swells with the actions of a warrior; but it was an age of warriors, and Urien of Reged seems to have employed the harp more than Arthur. Llywarch the aged, who lived through the whole period of slaughter, and had been one of the guests and counsellors of Arthur¹⁴³, yet displays him not in transcendant majesty. In the battle of Llongborth, which Arthur directed, it was the valour of Geraint that arrested the bard's notice; and his elegy, though long, scarcely mentions the commander, whose merit, in the frenzy of later fablers, clouds every other. As his poem was a gift to the dead, it may be supposed to possess less of flattery and more of truth in its panegyric; it speaks of Arthur with respect, but not with wonder; Arthur is simply mentioned as the commander and the conductor of the toil of war, but Geraint is profusely celebrated with dignified periphrasis¹⁴⁴.

In the same manner Arthur appears in the *Afallenau of Myrzin*; he is mentioned as a character well known¹⁴⁵, but not idolized; yet he

¹⁴³ So the Triad expresses, quoted in Owen's *Life of Llywarch*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ As "the glory of Britain—the terrifier of the foe—the molter of the enemy—the great son of Orbīn—the strenuous warrior of Dyvnaint." *Llywarch*, p. 3—7.

¹⁴⁵ *Myrzin* styles him *modur tyrfa*, king of a multitude, or military host. Jones, p. 25.

was then dead, and all the actions of his patriotism and valour had been performed; not a single epithet is added, from which we can discern him to have been that whirlwind of war, which swept away in its course all the skill and armies of Europe. That he was a courageous warrior is unquestionable; but that he was the miraculous Mars of the British history, from whom kings and nations sunk in panic, is completely disproved by the temperate encomiums of his contemporary bards.

One fact is sufficient to refute all the hyperboles of Jeffry. Though Arthur lived and fought, yet the Anglo-Saxons were not driven from the island, but gradually advanced their conquests, with progressive dominion, whether he was alive or whether he was dead. Reflecting on this unquestionable fact, we may hesitate to believe that Arthur was victorious in all his battles⁴⁶, because, if he wielded the whole force of Britain, and only fought to conquer, what rescued Cerdic, Ella, the son of Hengist, and the

⁴⁶ Nennius, c. 62. says this, "in omnibus bellis victor extitit." But Rad. quoted by Polychronicon, 224. says more probably of Cerdic, who often fought with Arthur, "si semel vinceretur, alia vice acrior surrexit ad pugnam."—Gildas, l. 26. implies an alternation of victory previous to the battle of Bath.—The MSS. Chron. Divis. cited by Langhorn, 70. affirm it.

invaders of Essex and East Anglia, from absolute destruction?

Yet on perusing the British Triades we discern some traits which raise Arthur above the situation of a provincial chieftain. They give him three chief palaces, and the positions of these imply a sovereignty on the western part of the island from Cornwall to Scotland ¹⁴⁷. His court seems to have been somewhat extraordinary, because we read of its three golden-tongued knights, its three free and discontented guests, its three undaunted chiefs, his three knight-counsellors, his three compeers ¹⁴⁸; all these expressions indicate a prince of peculiar power and distinction, and on connecting these with the number and situation of his palaces, a prince of considerable dignity rises to our view.

Two circumstances will render this aggrandizement more intelligible. First, the progress of the Anglo-Saxons must have materially affected the multiplicity of sovereignties which had divided Britain. Wherever they advanced the petty principalities must have been destroyed, and if compelled to a retrograde movement, the districts obtained from them would become the

¹⁴⁷ Caerlleon on the Uſk, Celliwig in Devon or in Cornwall, and Penrhyn Rhionez in the north. See the Triad, Jones, p. 80.

¹⁴⁸ See these Triads in Jones's Ancient Relics, p. 10—12.

property

property of their conqueror. Thus by destroying the other kingdoms of the Saxons, the Danes produced the monarchy of Alfred; and thus the Saxons, by the inevitable slaughter even of battles in which they were beaten, as well as by the progress of their conquest, left many districts without a ruler. Secondly, under Arthur, as afterwards under Urien, the Britons confederated, and of these combinations Arthur was the chosen general. Nennius mention that he marched with the king of the Britons¹⁴⁹; the Welch Chronology, that he with the elders fought the battle of Badon¹⁵⁰. Arthur was therefore raised to a great military preponderance, and as the British chieftains perished in the furious warfare, he may have possessed himself of the territories they left. That he was careful to accumulate dominion appears from his war with Huel. It was indeed an age of ambitious competition, and the power with which the command of the military forces of Britain invested him would enable him to assert his will with success whenever rivalry opposed.

Hence, whatever was Arthur's original dignity, the revolutions of this unfortunate period tended

¹⁴⁹ Nennius, c. 62.

¹⁵⁰ Cambrian Register for 1796, p. 313.

to throw into his possession a great aggregation of power. His victories against the common enemy would favour his acquisition of dominion. Arthur may be therefore contemplated as a chief, elevated by his own abilities and success into a king of power; not of the overwhelming might of an Oroondates or an Alexander, but of power sufficient to withstand the Saxons, and to suppress his competitors.

Twenty-two years are calculated to have intervened¹⁵¹ between the battle of Bath, in which he checked the stream of the Saxon conquest, and that fatal period in which he was torn from his lamenting friends by domestic treachery and civil rebellion. This catastrophe was produced by the infidelity of his queen Gwenhyfar, and the hostility of Medrawd his nephew. As Medrawd was able to defy the vengeance of the potent Arthur, and even to meet him in battle, we may suspect that chieftains jealous of Arthur's authority supported the rebellion. Some authors intimate, that to obtain the aid or neutrality of the West Saxons, Medrawd gave them several provinces in their vicinity¹⁵². As usurped power
always

¹⁵¹ Camb. Reg. for 1796, p. 313.

¹⁵² "Item legitur in chronicis Anglorum, quod Mordredus nepos Arthuri regnare cupiens, sed solum Cerdicum metuens, dedit
" Cerdico

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II.

always seeks to maintain itself by crime, and absurdly hopes to obtain from new transgressions that impunity which it can never find, Medrawd may have sacrificed his country to his revenge; but all who love truth in history will tread lightly and cautiously over these events, and not bring any incident too strongly into notice.

Camlan²⁵³ was the scene of that disastrous conflict, in which Medrawd dared to meet his injured uncle with the sword of revolt, and to consummate the crime of incest by murder. Two days the battle lasted²⁵⁴. The poem of Myrzin adds, that seven only escaped from the slaughter. We may interpret this of chiefs or officers. The traitor fell, but Arthur also received a mortal

"Cerdico quosdam alios pagos ut sibi faveret." Rad. ap. Polychronicon, 3 Gale, 224. Another author attempts to enumerate the provinces; Suffex, Surry, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Devonshire, and Cornwall. Usher, p. 520, but this is obviously incorrect.

²⁵³ This is placed in Cornwall by Giraldus, as cited apud Langhorn, p. 92; by Jeffry, l. 11. c. 2; Huntingdon Epist. ap. Langhorn, p. 87; and by Leland Assert. p. 43. Camden, p. 11.—Carte, p. 202, thinks that the battle of Camlan must have been in the north, near Medrawd's dominions, and I observe from Langhorn, p. 88, that Heft. Boethius transfers it to the Humber, but I should not chuse, without more evidence, to depart from the almost unanimous opinion of our antiquaries.

²⁵⁴ Myrzin's Afallenau, Jones, p. 25. This battle is placed in 542 by Jeffry, by the Annals in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, v. 2. p. 648, and by many authors cited by Usher, p. 521. The years 543 and 545 have been also selected; but the chronology in the Red Book of Hergest dates it in 576. See Cambrian Reg. for 1796? p. 313.

wound.

wound. From the coast of Cornwall he was conveyed into Somersetshire. Sailing along the shore they reached the Uzella, which they ascended, and the king was committed to the care of his friends in Glaistenbury¹⁵⁵, but their skill could not avert the fatal hour.

The grave of Arthur was the mystery of the world¹⁵⁶; his death was concealed, and a wild tale was diffused among the populace, that he had withdrawn from the world into some magical region, from which at a future crisis he was to re-appear, and to lead the Cymry in triumph through the island. Why this fiction was invented we may now enquire in vain. It could not repress the ambition of the Saxons, because the temporary absence of Arthur was sufficient to favour their wishes; and if his living authority could not prevent British insurrection, was it probable that his residence in another region

Death of
Arthur
concealed.

¹⁵⁵ See the verses quoted by Pryse, p. 137, as Talieffin's; but by Leland, 3 Collect, p. 44, as Myrzin's. This poem must be curious if we may judge from the quotation. See also Giraldus Spec. Eccles. dist. 2. c. 9. cited apud Usher, p. 523.

¹⁵⁶ See Owen's Dict. voc. Anoeth. One Triad is obscure to me; it states that he was three nights in the fortress of Oeth and Anoeth, three nights with Gwen the ben-dragon, and three in the secret prison under the flat stone. Owen, voc. Dragon. This alludes to some events of his life which have never been known to later days; we have only heard of Vortigern, Ambrosius, and Uther, as pendragons before Arthur. This brings to our notice one named Gwen.

R

would

would avail; yet Talieffin industriously sang that Morgana promised, if he remained a long time with her, to heal his wounds; and it is notorious that the return of Arthur was a fond hope of the people for many ages. Perhaps it was an illusion devised to avert the popular vengeance from those who, by aiding Medrawd, had contributed to produce the lamented event¹⁵⁷; perhaps the kings inculpated by Gildas had participated in the rebellion¹⁵⁸; or perhaps some, affecting to reign in trust for Arthur, conciliated the public prejudice in favour of their government, by thus representing that they governed only for him.

His family.

Of the family of Arthur we know little; we hear of Noe in Carmarthenshire, reputed to be his son, another son Llechau is celebrated as an accomplished warrior^{158*}. His sister Anna mar-

¹⁵⁷ Matth. Westm. p. 192, declares that the king voluntarily concealed himself while dying, that his enemies might not triumph nor his friends be molested.

¹⁵⁸ Langhorn Chron. p. 90, thinks that Malgon was confederated with Medrawd, and that these words of Gildas, addressed to Malgon, allude to the battle of Camlan, "Nonne in primis adolescentiæ tuæ annis avunculum regem cum fortissimis propemodum militibus (quorum vultus non catulorum leonis in acie magnopere dispares visabantur) acerrimè ense, hasta, igni oppressisti?" Langhorn seems to wish to believe these milites leoninos to be the celebrated knights of the round table.

^{158*} See the Triad in Owen, voc. Deivniawg. Another son is mentioned, Morcant or Morgan, who is said to have succeeded Arthur as king of Gwent. Williams's Monmouthshire, p. 102.

chief,

ried Llew, brother of the famous Urien, and son of Cynvarch; the traitor Medrawd was her son¹⁵⁹. The marriage of Anna united the kings of the northern Britons in consanguinity with Arthur; but this connection, instead of cementing the bond of patriotism by the addition of relationship, ultimately destroyed the great bulwark of the island.

But though the friends of Arthur concealed the place of his interment, a future age discovered it. In the year 1189, when romance had begun to magnify his fame, his body was diligently sought for in the abbey of Glastonbury. Henry de Sogli, the abbot, at the solicitation of Henry the second and others, prosecuted the search. The king had often told him, that he had heard from the Welch bards, that Arthur lay buried between two pyramids very deep¹⁶⁰. The monastery contained two stone pillars, with many inscriptions, illegible from the

His remains
discovered
in 1189.

¹⁵⁹ See the genealogy in Mr. Owen's life of Llywarch, and also Dr. Griffith's genealogies, annexed to Mr. Williams's Monmouthshire.

¹⁶⁰ Malmesbury, in his *Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ*, 3 Gale, p. 306, mentions that Arthur and his queen lay in the cemetery of the monks, between two pyramids. The tallest of these was twenty-six feet high. The sculpture upon it could not be understood. One side exhibited a pontifical image; the second, royal pomp, and the letters *Her, Sexi et Blisyer*: he mentions the three other sides. The other pyramid was eighteen feet high, with four sides.



injuries of time and the antiquity of the writing. The ground between these was dug to a great depth, and above seven feet below the surface a leaden cross was found under a stone, with the inscription, "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex "Arthurus in insula Avallonia." The abbot presented the cross, and Giraldus read the inscription. Nine feet below this the remains of Arthur appeared inclosed in oak; of this formidable warrior nothing but dust and bones were visible. Some yellow female hair indicated that his second wife had lain near him¹⁶¹.

The bones of Arthur were as extraordinary as his reputed actions; an eye-witness declares, that the abbot applied the tibia to the leg of the tallest man then present, and that it rose three fingers breadth above his knee. His skull was equally prodigious; the space of a hand expanded between the bones which had been covered by his eye brows. Ten wounds marked the head, which had concreted into scars, except one that displayed an unclosed chafin, the avenue of fate¹⁶².

The

¹⁶¹ Giraldus, who was present, narrates this discovery; see him quoted in Langhorn, p. 91. See also the extract from the magna Glastoniensi tabula ap. Usher, p. 117.

¹⁶² Giraldus ubi supra. On the subject of these bones see Mr. Whitaker's parallel facts, 2 Manchester, 69. If these bones really belonged to Arthur, this verse cannot relate to him, or must be un-

true,

The revered relics of the hero were re-interred with magnificence. His sword, his Caliburno, as a precious gift, was presented by Richard the first to the king of Sicily ¹⁶³, and his crown was taken away by Edward from Carnarvon. The publication of Jeffry's British History, an interpolated translation of the composition of Tyffilio, diffused the fame of Arthur with new but extravagant splendor through England, through Europe, and the world ¹⁶⁴. By doing Arthur this justice, he saved nature some trouble, for "had men been silent about Arthur, the mountains, rocks, and stones of Wales would have been perpetually proclaiming his name. Such

true, "Gwenhyvar of beautiful aspect, oh reject me not because I am little." Ymz Arthur a Gwenhyfar. Owen, voc. Divrodi.

¹⁶³ Usher, p. 121.

¹⁶⁴ According to Alanus de Insulis, the fame of Arthur in the twelfth century had become unbounded. "Who does not speak of him, he is even more known in Asia than in Britain, as our pilgrims returning from the east assure us; both east and west talk of him; Egypt and the Bosphorus are not silent; Rome, the mistress of cities, sings his actions; Antioch, Armenia, Palestine, celebrate his deeds. Thus was Merlin's prophecy fulfilled, In ore populorum celebrabitur, et actus ejus cibus erit narrantibus," p. 22. If Alanus answers for the eastern hemisphere, Humfrey Lhuyd gives evidence for the western world: "Not only our writers, but the Spaniards, Italians, Gauls, and the Suedes beyond the Baltic, sing to this day in their books the illustrious actions of this most valiant king," Comment. Brit. Descript. frag. p. 75.

BOOK
II.Subjection
of the Bri-
tons;and their
emigra-
tions.

"is the inseparable attachment of glory to vir-
"tue ¹⁶⁵!"

The conquests of the Anglo-Saxons did not exterminate the Britons, though many devastations must have accompanied their progress. The fierce warriors of Germany wanted husbandmen, artificers, and menials for domestic purposes. We can have no doubt that the majority of the British population was preserved to be useful to their conquerors. The very demand of *Flamzwyn*, which *Talieffin* records, Will you give hostages as pledges of submission ¹⁶⁶, implies that the Saxons desired subjects as well as territory. It is however true, that if many Britons submitted to the invaders, others disdained their slavish yoke and emigrated to other countries ¹⁶⁷. *Armorica* or *Bretagne* was the refuge to many ¹⁶⁸;

Corn-

¹⁶⁵ Sir John Pryse *Defens.* p. 136. He mentions some places which bear Arthur's name. See on this subject Gibson's *Camden*, p. 817, 921, 898, 119, &c.

¹⁶⁶ See the Poem in Jones, p. 18. *Gildas*, f. 25, admits that many of the Britons *manus hostibus dabant in ævum servituri*, though he chuses to hint that if they were not immediately slaughtered it was a great favour.

¹⁶⁷ *Gildas*, f. 25. *Alii transmarinas petebant regiones*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁸ Not only *Johannes Leidenfis* places the British colonization of *Armorica* post *Saxonum adventum*, but an ancient *Armorican* writer, in his life of St. *Wingualoeus*, a MSS. in the Cotton Library, in the time of Usher, attests it, "*Britannorum soboles ratibus ad istam devesa est citra mare Britannicum terram, tempore quo gens barbara (dudum aspera in armis, moribus indiscreta) Saxonum ma-*
" *ternum*

Cornwall and Wales received a large accession of population¹⁶⁹, and some are even said to have visited Holland¹⁷⁰.

CHAP.
V.

The

"*ternum possedit cespitem. Tunc se chara soboles in istum con-*
"*clust finum: quo loco, magnis laboribus fessa, ad horam confedit*
"*sine bello quieta.*" Ap. Usher, c. 12. p. 422. The ancient author
called *Adelmus Benedictus*, in his *Annals of the kings of the*
Franks, when about to mention Charlemagne's transactions in Bre-
tagne, takes occasion to state its British colonization: "*Nam cum ab*
"*Anglis et Saxonibus Britannia insula fuisset invasa, magna pars*
"*incolarum ejus mare trajiciens, in ultimis Gallie finibus, Veneto-*
"*rum et Corosolitarum regiones occupavit.*" *Corpus Francicæ*
Historiæ veteris, p. 396, ed. Hanov. 1613. Many continental
writers maintain the same opinion. In this history, p. 88. note 137,
another old authority is given. Usher, in his *Addenda* 1008, quotes
the poet of Paderborn to the same purpose.

¹⁶⁹ The life of Llywarch Hen, Aneurin, and the heroes who
survived their struggles with the Saxons, evince the custom of re-
tiring into Wales.—Humfrey Lhuyd, in his *Commentarioli Britan-*
tan. Descript. fragmentum, p. 15, second side, mentioning Cornwall,
adds, "*Hic annotatum velim, Saxones Britannorum reliquias in*
has angustias detrussisse."—It was of Cornwall and Wales that Gil-
das spoke in this passage, "*Alii a montanis collibus, minacibus*
"*præruptis vallati, et densissimis saltibus, marinis que rupibus,*" &c.
l. 25. p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ H. Cannegieter in his dissertation de Brittenburgo, Hag. Co.
1734, has particularly examined this point. His decision is that
Brittenburg was named from the Britons, but was built by the Ro-
mans. He prefers to the assertion of Gerbrandus, that the Britons
fled from the Saxons to Holland, and built Catwych on the Rhine;
the opinion of Colinus, the ancient monastical poet, who admits
that they visited and ravaged it, but affirms that they did not settle.
He thinks that in the days of Caligula the Britons first reached the
Rhine, and that they were led thither by Adminius son of Cunobe-
lin, who went to request the imperial protection. His third chapter
is on the *matres Britæ*, to whom some stones have been found in-
scribed. I observe from Lhuyd, that the *Triads* record three impor-
tant emigrations of the Britons at different periods; one to Gas-

BOOK
II.

Their re-
storation
predicted.

The most indignant of the Cymry retired into Wales. There the bards, fugitives like the rest, consoled the expatriated Britons with the hope that the day would afterwards arrive when they should have their full revenge, by driving out the Saxon hordes; not only Talieffin sung this animating prediction¹⁷¹; Myrzin also promised the Britons

cony, one to Norway, and one to Brittany. Archæol. at i Kimry, and Nicholson's App. 110.

¹⁷¹ See the Poem of Talieffin translated into a Latin sapphic. Owen's British Remains, 127. The Welch states:

A serpent with chains,
Towering and plundering,
With armed wings
From Germania;
This will overrun
All Loegria and Brydon,
From the land of the Lochlin sea
To the Severn.

After mentioning that the Britons will be exiles and prisoners to Saxony, he adds,

Their lord they shall praise,
Their language preserve,
Their country lose
Except wild Wales,
Till the destined period of their triumph revolves,
Then the Britons will obtain
The crown of their land,
And the strange people
Will vanish away.

He concludes with declaring that Michael has predicted the future happiness of Britain.

Gildas, p. 8, states, that the Saxons had a prophecy that they should ravage Britain 150 years, and enjoy it 150. The limitation has rather a Cambrian aspect.

that

that they should again be led by their majestic chief, and be again victorious. He boldly announced that in this happy day should be restored to every one his own; that then the horns of gladness should proclaim the song of peace, the serene days of Cambrian happiness¹⁷². The anticipation of this blissful æra gave rapture to the Cymry even in their cold and stony paradise of Wales¹⁷³. The proud invaders mocked the vaunting prophecy, and to render it nugatory they unpeopled some of their native coasts on the Baltic¹⁷⁴, and filled Britain with an active and hardy race, whose augmenting population

¹⁷² See his *Afallenau* in Jones's *Relics*, p. 25. Golyzan also predicts the unanimity of the Britons, Loegria in flames, and the pagan put to flight. See his *Arymes Prydein*. *Cambrian Register* for 1796, p. 562.

¹⁷³ These epithets are Welch. Stony Wales is a phrase of *Talieffin*. *Owen*, voc. *Carnezawg*. *Gelidam Walliam* is used by a translator for *Talieffin's gwyll Wallia*, which literally implies wild Wales. *Llywarch* denominates *Powys* "the paradise of the Cymry," p. 119. See Appendix, note (p).

¹⁷⁴ Bede affirms the complete emigration of the Angles; he says, their country "ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus," l. 1. c. 15. So king Alfred implies "on thæm landum eardodon Engle" "ær hi hider on land comon," in his *Orosius*, p. 25. To the like purpose Nennius, "ita ut insulas de quibus venerant absque habitatore relinquerunt;" c. 37. *Talieffin* declares the same when he states that the "Allmyn were preparing an emigration one after another, leaving a nakedness the place where they sprang." *Owen*, voc. *Attor*,

and

and persevering valour at length carried the hated Saxon sceptre even to the remotest corners of venerated Anglesey.

A D D E N D A.

SINCE the preceding pages were sent to the press, the Author has been favoured with the acquaintance of the gentleman, to whose Dictionary Welch literature is so much indebted, and has been obliged by him with the following Triad and observations.—They are added, as they throw a light on this obscure part of our history,

TRANSLATION OF THE SEVENTH HISTORICAL TRIAD.

The three enthroned Persons of the Isle of Britain.

Arthur as sovereign prince (yn ben-teyrned) in Caerlleon upon Uſk, and Dewi (David) the head bishop, and Maelgon of Gwynez the chief elder (ben hynain); Arthur as sovereign prince at Celliwig in Cornwall, and Bedwini the

ANGLO-SAXONS.

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head bishop, and Caradoc with the brawny arm (vreicvras) the chief elder; Arthur as sovereign prince at the promontory of Rionyz in the north, and Cyndeyrn Garthwys (Kentigern) the head bishop, and Gwrthmwl Wledig the chief elder.

CHAP.
V.

OBSERVATIONS.

The above Triad exhibits the fundamental principles of the ancient British constitution.

The function of the pen-teyrn, or supreme power, was called unbenaeth, of which the word monarchy is a literal translation.

The pen-teyrn, or unben, was elected by the elders or princes of the different states, and to whom they did homage, by paying the meç-deyrnged, or the tribute of the delegate prince.

So sacred was this maxim of obedience to the supreme government amongst the chieftains of the country, that if they went to war against one another, or even against the prince who filled the imperial seat, they never failed of declaring that they fought the welfare of the monarchy; and it was laid down in the laws of Wales, when the people were contending against the Saxons, that "the domestic bard should sing the unbenaeth Pry-
" dain,

“ dain, or the monarchy of Britain, at the head
“ of the army in the day of battle and war.”

The tributary princes did homage in the manner above mentioned, and they received, on their part, a tribute of the like nature from the nobles of their respective dominions, who were next in power to themselves,

AUTHOR'S SUPPLEMENT.

The law above referred to is in Howel Dha, l. i. c. 19, which, speaking of the barz teulu, the household bard, enjoins, “ et si acies sit in-
“ structa ad prælium, præcinat illis canticum
“ vocatum Monarchia Britannica (unbenniaeth
“ Brydain.)”

May we not conjecture, that the supreme chief, intituled variously unben, penteyrn, and pendragon, was substituted in the room of the vicarius, the Roman governor, whom the British cities deposed?

ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAP. VI.

*The History of the Anglo-Saxon Octarchy to the
Victory of Oswald over Cadwallon. A. D. 634.*

THE exertions of the British having failed, eight Anglo-Saxon governments were established in the island. This state of Britain has been denominated, with great impropriety, the Saxon heptarchy¹. When all the kingdoms were settled, they formed an octarchy. Ella, supporting his invasion in Suffex, like Hengist in Kent, made a Saxon duarchy before the year 500. When Cerdic erected the state of Wesssex in 519, a triarchy appeared; East Anglia made it a tettrarchy; Essex a pentarchy. The success of Ida, after 547, having established a sovereignty of Angles in Bernicia, the island beheld an hexarchy. When the northern Ella penetrated, in

CHAP.
VI.

An Octar-
chy esta-
blished.

¹ Although most of our ancient annalists and modern historians have retained the word heptarchy, yet one old chronicler, I perceive, has more critically said, "Provincia Britonum, quæ modo Anglia nominatur, Saxonum temporibus in octo regna divisa fuerit." Th. Rudborne's Hist. Major. Winton. r. Anglia sacra, 187.—Matth. Westm. 198. as correctly states the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to have been eight.—He names the eight kings who reigned in 586, p. 206.

560, southward of the Tees, his kingdom of Deira produced an heptarchy. In 586, the Angles branching from Deira into the regions south of the Humber, the state of Mercia completed an Anglo-Saxon octarchy. As the Anglo-Saxons warred with each other, sometimes one state was for a time absorbed by another, sometimes, after an interval, it emerged again. If that term ought to be used which expresses the complete establishment of the Anglo-Saxons, it should be octarchy; if not, then the denomination must vary as the tide of conquest fluctuated.

It was in a slow progression of conquest that the nations comprized under the title of Anglo-Saxons possessed themselves of the different districts of the island. The Britons yielded no part till it had been purchased by blood; and almost a century and a half passed away from the first arrival of Hengist to the full establishment of the octarchy. We are not able to give the successive conquests in exact chronology; we cannot state in what year each British principality was destroyed, or each county subdued; we only know, that from the sea coasts where they landed, the invaders fought their way with pertinacity, but with difficulty, to the inland provinces,

What

What the first adventurers failed to accomplish, the succeeding generations achieved. Thus Cerdic established himself in Hants; his son reduced Wilts; his next successor added Bucks, Oxford, and Gloucester². So Ida landed in Bernicia; about the period of his death a fellow warrior pierced into Deira; but it has been remarked, that the west riding of Yorkshire was not subdued till 620, nor Lancashire till half a century afterwards³.

As soon as the Anglo-Saxon potentates were released from the pressure of the Britons, and began to breathe in security, and to feel their strength in the growing population of their provinces, and in the habitual submission of the natives, their propensity to war, and their covetousness of power, excited them to turn their arms upon each other.

The Anglo-Saxons war with each other.

A rash youth began the struggles of internal warfare. The successes of the West Saxons and the South Saxons had turned off from Kent the torrent of British hostility. This exemption from the assaults of the natives may have been mistaken by Ethelbert, the fourth successor of

568.
Ethelbert invades Cealwin.

² This is stated on the presumption that the places in which the Saxon annalists mention the defeat of the Britons were attacked by the Saxons, and that the adjoining region became the booty of the conquerors.

³ Carte Hist. i. p. 210.

Hengist,

• BOOK

II.



Hengist, for an over-awing strength, and he presumed to defy and to invade the king of Wessex. Cealwin despised the warrior of sixteen, collected his troops, defeated Ethelbert at Wimbledon, and threatened the Kentish Jutes with the subjection which they had armed to impose ⁴.

571.

Conquests
of the West
Saxons.

Although by this time all the Saxon kingdoms on the coasts of the island had been established; yet the Cymry still retained many of the interior regions; but as hostility surrounded them on every quarter, their tenure of these districts was insecure. The brother of Cealwin, as if in an excursion from the vicinity of Kent, defeated them at Bedford, and marching to Wessex, through their country, took Leighton, Ailesbury, Benington, and Ensham ⁵.

577.

Six years afterwards, Cealwin and Cuthwin maintained another engagement near Derham, in Gloucestershire, in which three British kings fell, Conmail, Condidan, and Farinmail. Three cities, with the adjacent country, were the booty

⁴ Sax. Chron. p. 21. Flor. Wigorn. 222. M. West. 196. Hunting. 315. Malmesbury attributes the aggression to Ethelbert's desire of engrossing præ antiquitate familiæ primas partes sibi, p. 12.

⁵ Saxon Chron. 22. and Flor. Wig. 222. name the brother of Cealwin Cuthulf. H. Hunting. p. 315. Cutha.—Ethelwerd, 834. entitles the captured towns regias villas.

of the victory; Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath⁶.

CHAP
VI.

Many conjectures have been started on these British kings. Though averse to speculate on historical facts, yet the author cannot avoid indulging a supposition on this topic. One of these kings has been well explained: At this period Fernvail was king of Gwent, or Monmouthshire⁷; we may consider him as the Farinmail of the Saxons. The other two are yet to be discovered.

The three
British
kings.

One of the elegies of Llywarch Hen is on Cynddylan, son of Cyndrwyn⁸. This warrior was the king of Powys, which is that district of Wales nearly confined by the Wye and Severn⁹; Powys was therefore contiguous to the scene of action. Cynddylan, or Cynzylan, is a nearer sound to Condidan than those which have hi-

⁶ Saxon Chron. 22. Ethelwerd, 835. tres urbes clariores. Huntingdon, 315. tres urbes excellentissimas.—These cities were of consequence in those early days.

⁷ So the Regist. Landav. cited by Langhorn, 115. and Carte, 217. indicates.

⁸ Llywarch Hen, p. 71—105.

⁹ Shrewsbury, or Pengwern, was its ancient capital. When the Angles took that, Mathraual became its royal seat. H. Lhwyl Comment. p. 57.—This author describes the Powysians as robust men, quietis impatientes, homicidiis et excursionibus assuefactos.—He adds, that not to the English alone, sed suis vicinis Cambri multa detrimenta et infinitos labores dabant.

thereto been adduced; and it may be presumed (if the chronology agree) that the Cynzylan, king of Powys, commemorated by Llywarc to have been pierced through the head by Twrch, is the Condidan who perished at Derham.

The elegy mentions another British prince, Caranmael¹⁰, the son of Cynzylan. This approaches very near Conmail.

The poet says, Cynddylan fell in defending Tren¹¹. About ten miles from Derham, inclining thence to Powys, is Thorn-bury, or the borough of Thorn; it must have been at that time important to have defended this city; it was a fortified place, and close to the ancient passage over the Severn from England to Wales, which was at Oldbury, therefore to defend Thorn was to protect Wales. The similarity of sound between Thorn and Tren gives a sanction to the idea that the battle lamented by Llywarc, and that briefly stated in the Saxon Chronicle, are the same. A remark of Mr. Carte is favourable to this little theory:—"Ceaulin being by the surrender of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, master of the country about these cities along

¹⁰ P. 99.

¹¹ P. 95. P. 105. he is also called the protector of Tren—the patrimony of his sire, 71, 73.

"the

"the Severn, might easily send forces over this river to plunder Monmouthshire"¹².

"Cynddylan, guard thou the cliff against any Lloegyrians that may come this day," exclaims the poet¹³. This suits the position of Thorn, which is near the cliffs that form the coast of the Severn. He talks also of the eagle of Eli¹⁴. The map places Hill about two miles from Thorn-bury. The poem mentions many places and rivers, but the Welch names are so different from the modern appellations, that perhaps none but a native well versed in ancient British topography can prove or disprove the notion meant to be here very deferently stated.

It may be added, that the chronology appears to suit; Llywarç did not come into Powys until after the year 567, when Urien Reged perished. He staid some time in Cumbria, fighting against the Angles, with the sons of Urien. Hence the year 577, the date of the battle of Derham in the Saxon Annals, may have been that in which he was aiding the king of Powys on the Severn, when the fury of the West Saxons destroyed his hospitable host. Cynddylan and

¹² Hist. Eng. p. 217.

¹³ P. 75.

¹⁴ P. 81.

Caranmael may have been the Condidan and Conmail of the Saxon orthography¹⁵.

After an interval of seven years, Cealwin renewed his hostilities on the Severn. At Frithern a bloody contest took place, in which, after vicissitudes of victory, the Saxons prevailed, and obtained much plunder and country for their prize¹⁶.

The spirit of Cealwin expresses the general spirit of the times, restless, warring, greedy of conquest. On the death of Cissa, the kingdom of Suffex fell into his hands¹⁷. By annexing it to West Saxony¹⁸, he changed the Saxon octarchy into a temporary heptarchy.

¹⁵ The above remarks are merely a collation of slight coincidences; they are offered as conjectures, not as facts.

¹⁶ Sax. Chron. 22. Florent. Wig. 224. Hunt. 315.—M. West. omits the ultimate success of Cealwin, and mentions the affair as a British victory, p. 193. Usher, 570. places the battle at Stanemore, in Westmoreland; a very improbable situation for Cealwin to have fought in. Soon after this contest, Langhorn quotes Joannes Salsb. Policrat. 5. c. 17. to say, that paulo post Anglorum introitum impositum fuisse Angliæ nomen. The passage of our elegant monk is, l. 6. c. 17. p. 197. and merely mentions that "ab inventu Saxonum in insulam appellatur Anglia." These words determine no chronology like paulo post; they only express one of the consequences of the Saxon invasion.

¹⁷ Matt. West. 201.

¹⁸ As the people of Wessex had been anciently named Gewisi, Bede, l. 3. c. 7. Wessex may be an abbreviation of Ge-wisi-Sax; but whether Ge-wisi was a British appellation, like Brynaich and Deifyr, or whether, as in Wisi Goth, it implies the Western, I cannot decide.

Dreaded for his power and ambition, Cealwin now preponderated over the other Saxon monarchs¹⁹; but the prosperity of ambition has the durability of an halo; while we gaze on the glaring meteor it is departing from our sight; the summer day of Cealwin closed in a tempest, which hurled him from his throne. His nephew Ceolric called to his aid the Cynmry and the Scoti, and all the valour and conduct of Cealwin, which had so often driven defeat from his standards, could not now rescue him from disgrace, in the 33d year of his reign, at Wodnesbury, in Wilts²⁰. His death soon followed, and the unnatural kinsman succeeded to the crown he had polluted. A short reign of five years ended his ambition, and Ceolwulf acceded.

591.

¹⁹ Bede, l. 2. c. 5. He was the second Saxon prince so distinguished.—Matt. West. says generally, ‘magnificatum est nomen ejus vehementer,’ p. 197.—Langhorn fancied that he was the Gormund, whom the Britons mention with horror. Chron. Reg. Angliæ, 123. This Gormund, by some styled king of the Africans, by others a pirate of Norway or Ireland, is fabled to have invaded the Britons with 166,000 Africans. Rad. dic. 559. 3 Gale, and Jeffry, 12. 2. Alanus de insulis, l. 1. p. 25. give him 360,000. A foreign author enthrones him the sovereign of England for 40 years!! Joh. Gerb. Leidenfis, l. 1. c. 13. ap. Usher, 571.

²⁰ Sax. Chron. 22. Ceola, as Flor. Wig. 225. names him, was son of Cuthulf. Ethelwerd, 835.—Wodnesbury stands upon the remarkable ditch called Wanfdike, which Camden thought a Saxon work to divide Mercia from Wessex. Others have supposed that it was a defence against the Britons, who had been in the habit of making incursions from their garrisons at Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester. 1 Gough's Camden, p. 87. and 95.

Christiani-
ty intro-
duced.

The disaster of Cealwin completed the safety of Kent. Ethelbert had preserved his authority in that kingdom, and at length obtained the insular predominance which Cealwin had enjoyed. Whether this superiority was the result of actual conquest, or was a dignity conceded to one of the Saxon monarchs by the rest, in compliance with some ancient custom, or in imitation of the British unbennaeth, is not sufficiently disclosed ²¹.

In 597, the monks sent by Gregory the Great, and conducted by Austin, arrived in Thanet as missionaries, voluntarily risking their safety to teach the Anglo-Saxons the truths they revered ²². Ethelbert, in a manly speech, granted them permission to promulgate their opinions, and they succeeded in diffusing through Kent, and of occasioning ultimately throughout the island, a great mental revolution.

603.

While Ceolwulf was governing Wessex, Ethelfrith, the grandson of Ida, commanded Bernicia.

²¹ Bede, l. 2. c. 5. names him as the third qui imperavit all the provinces south of the Humber. Malmesbury amplifies this into "omnes nationes Anglorum præter Northanhimbros continuis victoriis domitas sub jugum traxit," p. 10.—The Saxon Chron. calls him one of the seven bretwaldas who preceded Egbert. What is the proper force of this bretwalda, or governor of Britain, is doubtful. It can hardly imply conquest, because Ella the First is not said to have conquered Hengist, Cerdic, Arthur, or the Mercian Britons his contemporaries.

²² Bede, l. c. 25.

The passion of harassing the Britons was predominant in his mind. None peopled more districts of the ancient Cymry with Angles, or more enslaved them with tributary services. It is probable that he carried his conquests to the Trent²³. Excited by his progress, Aidan advanced with a great army of the Scottish Britons to repress him. The Angles met him at Degfastan, which seems to be Dawson, near Jedburgh; a furious battle ensued, which the determination of the combatants made very deadly. The brother of Ethelfrith perished, with all his followers. At length the Scottish Britons gave way, and were mowed down with such slaughter, that the king, with few attendants, escaped²⁴. They forebore for a long interval to molest the Angles again.

Austin having converted Kent, sent Mellitus into Essex²⁵, who induced Sabert, the nephew of Ethelbert, to accept the benevolent faith of Christianity²⁶.

The

604.
Essex converted.

²³ Carte, i. p. 210.

²⁴ Bede, l. i. c. 34. Sax. Chron. 24.—The position of this, as of most of the Saxon battles, is disputed.

²⁵ The metropolis of Essex was London, which Bede, l. 2. c. 3. describes as the *emporium multorum populorum terra marique venientium*.—It holds the same character in the Roman authors. Thus, amid all our revolutions, London has for near 20 ages preserved her commercial predominance.

²⁶ Sabert built St. Paul's, Bede, 2. c. 3. and St. Peter's, now
S. 4 Westminister

The colonists of Suffex, endeavouring to throw off the yoke of Ceolwulf, who is mentioned as always engaged in quarrels with the Angles, Britons, Picts, or Scots, were resisted by the West Saxon king. The conflict, disastrous to both armies, was most fatal to the assertors of their independence²⁷.

The Bernician conqueror renewed his war with the Cymry. He reached Chester surrounded by victory. Apart from the forces of the Welch, assembled under Brochmael, king of Powys, he perceived the monks of Bangor praying for the success of their countrymen; he chose to confound them with the soldiers armed to oppose him; he felt no disgrace at consigning 1200 defenceless priests to death; he poured upon them the first of his battle²⁸; they fell like stubble be-

Westminster Abbey, on the site of a temple of Apollo in Thorn-eia, the island of Thorn. See the authors in Usher, 575. The foundation of Westminster is dated in 618 by W. Thorn, x Script. p. 1768.

²⁷ Sax. Chron. p. 23—25. H. Hunt. 315, 316.

²⁸ The chronology of this battle is disputed. Carte, confiding in a Welch chronology, places it in 593, p. 218. The Saxon Chronicle dates it in 607, p. 25. The Annals of Ulster in 612. Johnstone's Antiq. Celt. p. 58. Matt. West. in 603, p. 204. The ancient Welch chronologer, in the Cambrian Reg. for 1796, places it in 602, and 14 years before the battle of Meigen, p. 313. Bede says, that Austin had been jam multo ante tempore ad caelestia regna sublato, l. 2. c. 2. but Austin died in 605. Smith's note on Bede, p. 81. therefore the battle must have been subsequent to 605, if we accredit Bede. Jeffry, l. 11. c. 13. and the Saxon Chronicle, p. 25. put only 200 monks to the sword.

fore the excited flame, and, appalled by their fate, the courage of the troops of Brocmail wavered and fled²⁹. Ethelfrith obtained a decisive conquest. Ancient Bangor itself soon fell into his hands, and was demolished³⁰; the noble monastery was levelled to the earth; its vast library, the collection of ages, the repository of the most precious monuments of the ancient Britons, was consumed³¹; half-ruined walls, gates, and rubbish, were all that remained of the magnificent edifice³². We may presume that the addition of Cheshire to Bernicia was the consequence of the victory.

Bangor
destroyed.

²⁹ According to Malmſbury, 17. the citizens of Cheſter, dreading a ſiege, ruſhed furiously on Ethelfrid, and were deſtroyed by his ambuſhes.—*Quos ille inſidiis exceptos fudit*.—Cheſter was anciently the metropolis of Gwynes. *Polychron.* 200.

³⁰ Ancient Bangor was about eight miles diſtant from Cheſter. *Caius de Antiq. Cantab.* l. 1. ap. Uſher, 133.—Leland ſays, ‘ the cumpace of the abbay was as of a waullid toune, and yet remaineth the name of a gate caullid Porth Hogan by north, and the name of another, port Clays by ſouth.—Dee ſyns chaunging the bottom rennith now thoroug the mydle betwyxt theſe two gates, one being a mile dim from the other.’ *Itiner.* v. 5. p. 26.

³¹ Humph. Lhuyd aſſerts this. *Comm. Frag. Brit. Deſcript.* 53. and Giraldus Cambrenſis declares that Cheſter alſo was deſtroyed. *Ethelfridus nobilem legionum urbem deſtruxit. De illaud. Walliz.* c. 7. *Anglia ſacra*, v. 2. p. 451.

³² Malmſbury, 19. “ tot ſemiruti parietes eccleſiarum, tot auſtratus porticum, tanta turba ruderum, quantum vix alibi cernas.”—In the Triades Bangor is paralleled with the iſle of Avalon, and Caer Caradog for poſſeſſing 2400 religious. Owen, *voc. Dyval*.—The Bangor of modern note is a city built by Maelgo on the Meneath, near Angleſey. *Joh. Roſſius*, ap. Uſher, 133. *Solan Mc Conan*, a Britiſh king, fell in this ſtruggle. *Ann. Ulſter*, p. 58.
On

BOOK

II.

On these devastations the spirit of the country is said to have risen vigorously elastic from the pressure of dishonourable terror. The princes united. The vengeful conflict began, and 10600 Saxons perished. Such an event patriotism might have attempted; but a victor strong enough to defeat an alliance in the plenitude of its unbroken power, can seldom be counteracted by the succeeding efforts of the rallied fugitives, or their hastily collected friends. Discord palsies, and defeat usually rushes on the footsteps of defeat, until despair annihilates resistance. The revulsion in the current of success, in the present case, was countenanced by Humphrey Lluyd, but is too defective in evidence to be credited ³³.

610.

Tewdric
defeats
Ceolwulph

Misfortune flew from all sides to assail the persecuted Cymry, but they sometimes triumphed. Ceolwulph advanced with the warriors of Wesssex, not merely to the Severn, but crossed it into the province of Glamorgan. Affrighted at his force, the inhabitants hastened to Tewdric their former king, who had quitted his dignity

³³ Lluyd begins with quoting "nostri annales," British authors, but ends with "ut Huntingtonensis refert." Fragment. Brit. 59. Huntingd. says nothing about it. Jeffry, l. 11. c. 13. affirms it, and from him Rad. diceto, 559. 3 Gale Script. mentions it. Langhorn thinks that Jeffry alludes to the battle at Wodnesbury, p. 151.

in behalf of his son Mowric, to lead a solitary life among the beautiful rocks and woodlands of Tintern. They solicited him to reassume the military command, in which he had never known disgrace, if he sympathized in the welfare of his countrymen or his son. The royal hermit beheld the dreaded Saxons on the Wye, but the remembrance of his own achievements inspired him with hope. He put on his forsaken armour, conducted the tumult of battle with his ancient skill, and drove the invaders over the Severn. A mortal wound in the head arrested the pulse of life in the full enjoyment of his glory, and he breathed his last wishes for his country's safety at the confluence of the Severn and the Wye. The local appellation Mathern, the abbreviation of Mertherne Teudric³⁴, pointed out his remains to the sympathy of posterity: in the sixteenth century his body was found unconsumed, and the fatal blow on his head was visible³⁵.

The condition of the Cambro Britons at this juncture calls for our most compassionate anxiety.

Distress of
the Welch.

³⁴ Merthir Tewdrick, the martyr Tewdric. Usher quotes the Register of Landaff for this conflict, p. 562.—Langhorn. Chron. p. 148.

³⁵ Godwin præsul. ap. Usher, 563. In the chancel of Mathern church an epitaph mentions that he lies there entombed. Williams's Monmouthshire, App. No. 17.

They

BOOK
II.

They had been driven out of their ancient country; they had retired to those parts of the island by mountains, woods, marshes, and rivers secluded from the rest; yet in this retreat they lived with their hands against every man³⁶, and every man's hand against them; they were the common butt of enterprize to the Angles of Bernicia, and Deira, and Mercia; to the Saxons of Wessex, and to the Gwizzelians of Ireland; and they were always as eager to assail as to defend. The wild prophecies of enthusiasts, who mistook hope for inspiration, having promised to them, in no long period, the enjoyment of the soil from which they had been exiled, produced in them a perpetual appetite for war. Their independent sovereignties fed by their hostile ambition the flames of domestic quarrels, supplied new hecatombs to the demons of destruction, and accelerated the ruin of their independence³⁷.

³⁶ Matt. West. paints this forcibly; he says, the Britons retired to Cornwall and Wales, unde crebras et ferales irruptiones, sine intermissione, hostibus inferebant, p. 198.—Again, semper gentem Anglorum, et etiam usque in hodiernum diem, odio mortali perstringunt, nec illis libentius quam canibus communicare volunt.—After describing their impregnable country, he adds, ‘unde sæpissime gentem Anglorum infestant, nec aliud ab eis in bello, nisi capita solum pro redemptione requirunt,’ p. 199.

³⁷ Illam patriæ partem, quæ eis remanserat, non uni regi sed tribus tyrannis subjectam, civilibus bellis sæpissime infestare non cessabant. Matt. West. 199.

ANGLO-SAXONS.

269

CHAP.
VI.

The Cymry maintained the unequal conflict against the Anglo-Saxons with wonderful bravery, and did not lose the sovereignty of their country until the improvements of their conquerors made the conquest a blessing.

Cynegils with the West Saxons again assailed some branches of the Britons. If Bampton in Devonshire be the place which the Saxon annalist denominates Beamdune, the princes of Cornwall were the objects of attack³⁸. When the armies met, Cynegils surprised the Britons by drawing up his army into an arrangement which they had never beheld before. This unusual display of military order affected them with a sudden panic, and they quitted the field early, with the loss of 2046 men.

614.
Cynegils
victory.

On the death of Ethelbert, Kent relapsed for awhile into paganism, and Eadbald lost the preponderance which his father had enjoyed³⁹. On Sabert's death christianity was also denounced in Essex⁴⁰, and Redwald of East Anglia, though

616.
Death of
Ethelbert.

³⁸ Sax. Chron. 25. Hunt. 316. Camden supposes the place to have been Bindon in Dorsetshire, 1 Gough's ed. 44. The editor mentions favourably the opinion of Gibson, which is in the text, ib. p. 50.

³⁹ Bede, l. 2. c. 5. Malmesbury, l. 1. p. 10. *Regulis quos pater sub jugum miserat rebellantibus regni mutilatus dispendio.* Redwald became the Bretwalda after Ethelbert. Sax. Chron. p. 71.

⁴⁰ Bede, l. 2. c. 5. Sabert was buried in Westminster. Langhorn, p. 154.

he

Expedition
of the East
Anglians
to the Con-
tinent.

he embraced the new profession in Kent, desert-
ed it in his own dominions *.

Procopius has preserved an incident respecting
the East Anglians, which occurred in the sixth
century, and may be noticed before we mention
another of their most splendid exploits.

Between the Rhine and the northern ocean the
Varni inhabited. Their king solicited a princess
of East Anglia for his son, and the hand of the
lady was promised. On his death-bed it occur-
red to him, that an alliance with the Franks, his
neighbours, would be more profitable to his
people than the friendship of the Angles, who
were separated from the Varni by the sea. In
obedience to the political expediency, Radigis,
the prince, married his father's widow, his step-
mother, because she was sister of Theodebert the
Frank. The rejected East Anglian would not
brook the indignity; her slighted charms de-
manded revenge, because in the estimation of
her countrymen the purity of female chastity
was sullied if the maiden once wooed was not
wedded. Her brother and the East Anglian
warriors thought her quarrel just; a mighty fleet
sailed under her auspices, and landed on the

* Bede, l. 2. c. 15. Rediens domum, ab uxore sua et quibusdam
perversis doctoribus seductus est.

Rhine⁴². A part of the army encamped round her; the rest, with one of her brothers, defeated the Varni, and penetrated the country. Radigis fled. The Angles returned to the angry lady, glorying in their victory. She received them with stern disdain. They had done nothing, as they had not brought Radigis to her feet. Again her selected champions sallied forth, and Radigis at last was taken in a wood. The trembling captive, so criminal by the laws of love, entered her tent to receive his doom. But the soul of the East Anglian was of a superior nature. It was the stain which his desertion had thrown upon her modesty that she had aimed to remove. She was no gloomy fury of revenge. Radigis pleaded his father's commands, and the solicitations of his chiefs. The sweet melody of flattery and love may have completed his apology. The

⁴² Procopius describes these Angli as homines omnium quos novimus barbarorum ad bella acerrimi; pedibus pugnas ineunt, equitatus adeo imperiti ut etiam quid sit equus nesciant. The Angli may not have had cavalry, but that nullum unquam equum in tavifum insula is not credible. Goth. Hist. l. 4. p. 469. ed. Grot. The Britons had horses. The father of Taliesin's protector says, Round hoofed is my steed, the torment of battle. Owen, voc. Carngrwn.—Llywarch mentions in many stanzas the fleet runners, the swift racers under the thigh of Geraint, p. 9. Aneurin also notices the war horses and their harness. Owen, voc. Cadfeirc. The Angli must have seen the British horses in battle, Procopius therefore erred in asserting that id animal ne ex imagine quidem norunt Britii.

conquering

conquering beauty smiled forgiveness. To accept her hand, and to dismiss her rival, was the only punishment she awarded. Joyfully the prince obeyed, and the sister of Theodebert was repudiated ⁴³.

Ethelfrith
seizes Deira

This event is the only one in the history of East Anglia which can interest our notice before the reign of Redwald. Before this prince it had arrogated no dominating precedence in England. The intemperate ambition of Ethelfrith propelled it into consequence. This king, dissatisfied with his inherited Bernicia, and his trophies in Scotland and Wales, invaded Deira, to which Edwin the son of Ella, at the age of three years, had succeeded, and by expelling the little infant converted the Saxon states in England into an hexarchy. Edwin was carried to North Wales, and was generously educated by Cadvan ⁴⁴.

After many changes of place, Edwin, in his maturer age, implored an asylum in the court of

⁴³ Procopius Goth. Hist. l. 4. p. 468—471. Gibbon places this incident between 534 and 547, which were the extreme terms of the reign of Theodebert, vol. 3. c. 38. p. 627.

⁴⁴ Alured Beverl. l. 6. p. 90.—Carte, 1. p. 226, quotes Mr. Vaughan's Dissert. on the British Chronology.—Jeffry, with his usual pen of romance, makes Edwin the son of Ethelfrid. The tyrant banished his pregnant wife; Cadvan received her, and when her son was grown, sent him with his own child to Salomon of Armorica to be educated, l. 12. c. 1.

Redwald;

Redwald. Impatient that Edwin should be alive, Ethelfrith sent messages with promised presents to the East Anglian sovereign, requiring him to surrender the youth. Redwald was averse to betray his guest; an haughty menace of inevitable chastisement was appended to his refusal. The danger staggered the virtue of Redwald. He remembered the unvarying successes of Ethelfrith, and he at length determined to make Edwin the victim of his tranquillity. A friend to the young exile discovered his intentions, and counselled a precipitate flight, but Edwin courageously replied, "Redwald has received me kindly, I will not shew him an ungrateful mistrust. I have been a wanderer long enough. If he is intimidated from protecting me, of whom shall I obtain a shelter; ignominy will disgrace him if he betrays me, but no dishonour will stain my memory; I had rather perish with honour than continue to live a friendless fugitive."

His magnanimity was rewarded. The exalted feelings of the East Anglian queen enlightened the mind of Redwald: "A king should not sell a distressed friend, nor violate his faith for gold; no ornament is so ennobling as good faith." The soul of Redwald kindled as she

T

spoke,

617.

Redwald
protects
him,

BOOK
II.and defeats
Ethelfrith.

spoke, and he resolved to keep sacred the duties of hospitality.

The preparations of Ethelfrith, disappointed of his prey, compelled him to arm, and virtue descended to crown her votary with glory. Ethelfrith was attacked, before he had collected all his troops, on the east bank of the Idel in Nottinghamshire⁴⁵. His experienced valour and veteran soldiers supplied the disparity of his troops, and balanced the contest. The East Anglians advanced in three divisions; one of these Rainer the son of Redwald led. The ancient fortune of Ethelfrith befriended him, and the prince and his warriors were annihilated. Redwald was stimulated to more determined exertions; he still outnumbered his opponent, and his other divisions were firm. Ethelfrith, unused to such resistance, and impatient for the event, rushed on the East Anglians with an impetuosity that never co-exists with reason. His friends did not follow his injudicious courage; he was separated from them, and fell at last on a great mound of enemies, prostrated by his sword⁴⁶. Edwin signalized himself in the work of blood. Redwald not only

Ethelfrith
falls.

⁴⁵ Bede, l. 2. c. 12.—Malmſbury, "super Ethelfridum paratis
"copiis insperatus advolat," p. 18.

⁴⁶ Huntingdon, l. 2. p. 316.—Sax. Chron. 27.

re-instated

re-instated him in Deira, but also subjected Bernicia to his power. Thus the hexarchy continued. The sons of the slain usurper fled into Scotland⁴⁷. Redwald ascended to the pre-eminence of Ella, Cealwin, and Ethelbert. On his death it was assumed by Edwin⁴⁸.

CHAP.
VI.

Edwin re-
stored.

The three brothers who governed Essex were attacked by the West Saxon kings. The army of the sons of Sabert was almost destroyed⁴⁹. Redwald was succeeded by Eorpwald.

623:

The panegyrics of the Saxon historians have invested the name of Edwin with splendor. He seems to have been one of those men whose reputation was not greater than his merit. The perverse fortunes of his youth had endowed him with the wisdom of a varied experience, and he reigned with advantage to his fierce subjects.

His life was endangered by the plots of a coward. Cwichelm of Wessex, not daring to meet him in the prepared combat, had recourse to that detestable method of gratifying his enmity, which base minds only can either execute or intend. He sent an assassin, Eomer (names of ignominy should be preserved to be branded as

626.

Attacked
by an as-
sassin.

⁴⁷ Polychron. 3 Gale, 229.—Sax. Chron. 27.—Bede, l. 3. c. 1.

⁴⁸ Bede, 2. c. 5.

⁴⁹ Bede, ib.—Huntingd. 316.—Flor. Wig. 232.

an admonition to incipient villany) with a poisoned dagger of double edge; his abominable hope was, that if accident should make the wound superficial, the venom might cause it to be fatal. In the festival of Easter, the bravo approached the royal city on the Derwent, and was admitted to the presence as a messenger from Cwicheim. On the preceding night Edwin had been made a father by his queen. The wretch had abilities enough to begin the delivery of a fictitious embassy; in the middle of it he clenched his dagger, and rushed upon the king. Lilla, the favourite minister of Edwin, saw the intention, but he had no shield to avert the blow. The king was off his guard—the mortal dagger was raised;—with the most generous, with self-devoting friendship, Lilla threw himself between his master and the assassin, voluntarily received the descending blow, which was urged with such vehemence that it reached through the body of Lilla into the king, and expired without regret. Though an hundred swords soon waved against him, the determined murderer stood on his defence, and was not overpowered till he had made another victim to his purchased villany. The wound of Edwin disappointed the criminal Cwicheim. The king recovered, and retaliated with

Lilla's heroic friendship.

with ample and personal punishment on the base aggressor ⁵⁰.

Edwin permitted the introduction of christianity into his dominions, but his own conversion was not hastily effected. Although in its promises to virtue of an everlasting felicity, the christian religion is fitted to allure the well disposed and well regulated heart, yet Edwin did not run with undistinguishing credulity into its circle; he justly considered it, on its first announcement, as a weighty proposition ⁵¹; and as he was ignorant of its merits, he felt himself incompetent to decide. When Eadbald of Kent, whose sister he had sued in marriage, invited him to embrace it, he only promised to allow her the unmolested enjoyment of her opinions, and to submit the momentous subject to the judgment of wise and competent persons: if by them it was thought more worthy of the Divine Majesty, than the notions he had inhe-

CHAP.
VI.

Edwin meditates on christianity.

⁵⁰ Bede, l. 2. c. 9.—Saxon Chron. 27.—Flor. Wig. 232.

⁵¹ Bede informs us that, non statim et inconsulte sacramenta fidei christianæ percipere voluit; that, cum suis primatibus quos sapientiores noverat, curavit conferre quid de his agendum arbitrentur; and that as he was a man natura sagacissimus, sæpe diu solus residens, ore quidem tacito, sed in intimis cordis multa secum conloquens, quid sibi esset faciendum, quæ religio servanda tractabat, l. 2. c. 9.

rited, he should not in that case view it with disdain ⁵³.

After several circumstances the king summoned a council of his wittena; he laid before them the new system, which he was pressed to adopt, and required of each his unreserved opinion on its merit. The priest of his idols was forward to adduce a personal feeling: "I believe the religion we profess to be worth nothing, for no man has applied himself more zealously to it than myself, yet many obtain your favours in preference to me: if our gods were good for any thing I should have been more prosperous."

At such an argument the noble minded Edwin must have smiled. The next speaker displayed a contemplative mind, which had often pondered on the uncertainty of human life, and sometimes endeavoured to lift up the awful shroud which covers the last relics of mortality.

"The present portion of our existence, O king, compared with the uncertain future, seems to me to resemble the temporary appearance of a sparrow at your winter feasts, when your generals and ministers are around you;

⁵³ Bede, l. 2. c. 9. Neque abnegavit se etiam eandem subitum esse religionem, si tamen examinata a prudentibus sanctior ac et Deo dignior posset inveniri.

“ gay with the warmth of your central fire it
 “ hears the hurrying rain and snow beating with-
 “ out, and for a while is happy ; when fiercer skies
 “ approach, the little guest disappears ; and as it
 “ came we know not whence, it goes we know not
 “ where. Such is the life of man ; for a short time
 “ it appears in this busy world, revels with hila-
 “ rity, and is active from its enjoyment of exist-
 “ ence ; soon the passing scenes terminate, and as
 “ of those which may have preceded this life we
 “ are ignorant, so we know nothing of the events
 “ which are to follow. In this state of ignorance,
 “ of doubt, of alarm, I feel that if this new
 “ doctrine contains in it something more certain
 “ and more consolatory, it deserves our assent.”

This counsellor uttered the voice of wisdom
 and of nature. His sentiments fell with deep
 impression on the minds of his hearers, who may
 have often thought with anxious curiosity on
 the possible scenes of the future existence. That
 new theatres of being succeed to this perishable
 system has been the reasoned hope and the eager
 belief of all classes and stages of society, from
 the naked Pict and the warlike Goth to the in-
 tellectual Athenian, the reflective Roman, and
 the fierce pirates of Saxony. Presented as a

⁵³ Bede, l. 2. c. 13. p. 94. Smith's edition.

It is admitted into Northumbria.

626.

Rise of Penda.

grand revelation, that endless felicity awaits to recompense active virtue, christianity assumes a charm which has enraptured the martyr at his stake, and must interest the most philosophical. The council of Northumbria ended in the public acceptance of the new religion, and in the destruction of the temple of idolary⁵⁴.

In this year a luminary of baleful aspect began to appear above the political horizon. The inland districts had become united into one state, which bore the name of Mercia, and Penda succeeded to the crown at that age when other men are about to exchange it for the tomb. He was fifty years of age when he began his reign, but he had the health to wear it for thirty years⁵⁵, to the terror and calamity of the Anglo-

⁵⁴ Bede, l. 2. c. 13. particularizes Godmundham in Yorkshire as the place where Coifi destroyed the idols, of whose rites he had been the priest. This district had witnessed British and Roman idolatry before. Delgovitum is its neighbour, the modern name of which, Wigton, implies a town of idols. The British word Delgwe means statue or image. *Nota ad Bede*, p. 95.

⁵⁵ Sax. Chron. 28.—Flor. Wig. dates his accession 627, p. 232. Penda was the eleventh descendant from Woden by his son Wihtlæg, ib. Hunt. 316.—Nennius says of him, "qui primus separavit regnum Merciorum a regno Nordorum," p. 117. But before him there was Cearl, a king of the Mercians, whose daughter Quenburga was the first wife of Edwin during his exile, Bede, 2. c. 14. Some chronicles state that Crida, the grandfather of Penda, was the first Mercian king, and that Cearl, a kinsman of his son Wibba, preceded Penda. Rad. ap. Higden, Polychron. p. 229.

Saxon princes, all of whom he harassed and endangered; some he sent prematurely to their graves.

Before he had filled his throne two years, his restless spirit exerted its destructive power. He attacked Cirencester, which belonged to Wessex, and engaged with Cynegils and Quickhelm, its sovereigns, in an obstinate conflict. The sun left the western sky before the combatants would separate; when its beams illuminated the eastern horizon, the losses of each became visible, and a pacific negotiation was preferred to another battle⁵⁶.

His contest
with Wessex.

Edwin had now reached the summit of human prosperity; a considerable part of Wales submitted to his power, and the Menavian Islands⁵⁷. The internal police which prevailed through his dominions was so vigilant, that it became an

Edwin's
police.

⁵⁶ Malmesbury defeats Penda, p. 12.—Huntingdon, 316. Saxon Chron. 29. Flor. Wig. 233. and Matt. West. 217, attest the pacification.—Ethelwerd states the battle but not the issue, p. 836.—Some place it in 628, others in 629.

⁵⁷ Bede, 2. c. 9. Ib. c. 16. The Menavian islands were Eubonia and Mona, or Man and Anglesey.—Bede, c. 9. states that Anglesey contained 960 hydes or families, and Man 300. The fertility of Anglesey occasioned the proverb, Mon mam Cymry; Mona the mother of Wales. Pryse's Pref. to Wynne's Caradoc.—The king of Gwynes had his royal seat in it at Aberfraw, Lhuyd Fragm. Brit. 52, which is now a small village. Camb. Reg. 1796, p. 492.



aphorism to say, that a woman with her new-born infant might walk from sea to sea without fear of insult. As in those days travelling was difficult and tedious, and no places existed for the entertainment of guests, it was an important and kind convenience to his people, that he caused stakes to be fixed in those highways where he had seen a clear spring; brazen dishes were chained to these to refresh the weary sojourner, whose fatigues Edwin had himself experienced. In another reign these would have been placed only to have been taken away; but such was the dread of his inquiring justice, or such the general affection for his virtues, that no man misused them. It is remarked by Bede, as an instance of his dignity and power, that his banner was borne before him whenever he rode out, either in peace or war. When he walked abroad the tufa preceded him ⁵⁸.

His prosperity and its change.

For seventeen years he reigned victorious over his enemies, and felicitating to his subjects. But it is not allotted by the author of nature that virtue shall know no remission of temporal pro-

⁵⁸ We know, from a passage of Vegetius, corrected by Lipsius, that the tufa was one of the Roman ensigns; and we are informed by Isidorus, that Augustus introduced a globe upon a spear among his signa, to denote a subjected world. Lipsius is of opinion that this was the tufa alluded to by Bede.—*De Militia Romana*, l. 4. c. 5. p. 169. ed. Antwerp, 1598.

spérité.

sperity. The plans of providence take their course in a mighty orbit, which embraces the universe, and though sometimes they move in the line of human merit, they cannot be limited by the petty considerations of individual utility. That the most certain happiness shall generally attend on virtue here, and that in a region of virtue a felicity immortal and unalloyed shall accompany it, are the immutable ordinations of the Supreme; but in this mixed world of crime and merit, of wisdom and folly, the misfortunes of the good are benevolent dispensations; they preserve the virtue of the well intentioned, create many noble qualities of the mind and heart, augment the sagacity of the understanding, and rouse the gazing world to the vigilance of caution and the exercise of duty. Is there a being who would wish to have known through life no moment of anxiety; let him contemplate the idiot or the swine, and be thankful for the vicissitudes which awaken intellect, create sympathy, coerce from vice, excite intrepidity, amplify knowledge, command reflection, suggest piety, and exalt the soul to a sublimity of character which endows the possessor with the admiration of his species.

The misfortunes of Edwin may have resulted from

BOOK

II.

His con-
duct to
Cadwallon
and Wales.

from his ambition. The tender years of his life had been cherished by the father of Cadwallon, the sovereign of Gwynes or North Wales; but when Edwin had obtained the sceptre of Ethelfrith, he waged furious war with the son of his host. It became Edwin to resist if attacked, and he justly chastised by a defeat Cadwallon, who had penetrated to Widdrington, about eight miles north of Morpeth⁵⁹, but he might have been satisfied with defensive war, and have used sparingly the rights of victory against his early friend and protector. He chose to be the warrior not the hero. He preferred power to gratitude. He pursued Cadwallon into Wales, and chased him into Ireland⁶⁰. So severely did he exercise his advantages, that the British Triads

⁵⁹ Carte, 1. p. 236.—Jeffry, l. 12. c. 4. Jeffry's account of the quarrel is, that Edwin wished to wear his crown independently of the Welch prince, who was advised to insist on his subjection, and threatened to cut off his head if he dared to crown it. l. 12. c. 2, 3.

⁶⁰ See the Welch Triad in Owen's Llywarch, p. 111.—Jeffry, with his usual facetiousness, annexes a pretty nurse tale to Cadwallon's exile. Sailing to Armorica, he was driven by a tempest on the island of Garnereia; the loss of his companions affected him to sickness; for three days he refused food, on the fourth he asked for venison; a day's search discovered none. To save his king, Brian cut an ample piece out of his own thigh, roasted it on a spit, and presented it to the king as genuine venison. It was greedily devoured. The wind changed, they got safe to Armorica, and Brian afterwards killed the second-sighted magician of Edwin, l. 12. c. 4. and 7.

characterize him as one of the three plagues which beset the Isle of Anglesey⁶¹.

CHAP.

VI.

633.

Cadwallon
and Penda
unite.

For seven years his authority continued over Gwynes. But the spirits of ambition were only flattering him into ruin. A slow but unerring retribution always avenges the violations of morality. Cadwallawn besought the aid of Penda, and the restless sexagenary, armed with all the warlike activity of youth. The confederated kings met Edwin in Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire, on the twelfth of October. A desperate battle was ended by the death of Edwin in his forty-eighth year. One of his children, and most of his army, perished⁶².

Edwin's
fate.

The victors ravaged Northumbria; the hoary Penda exercised peculiar cruelty on the Christian inhabitants. Consternation overspread the

⁶¹ Cambrian Reg. 1796, p. 526. Matt. West. 224, in his *Com-bustis Urbibus et Colonis destructis*, explains the direful scourge.

⁶² Osfrid fell before his father. Bede, l. 2. c. 20.—Sax. Chron. 29.—Gibson and Carte place the battle in Hatfield Chase.—Langhorn prefers Hethfield in Derbyshire, near Cheshire, 176; others more absurdly have glanced on Hatfield in Herts. Near the Yorkshire town many intrenchments are to be seen. I will not aver that rats shun the town, or that the sparrows are displeased with Lindham in the moors below it. Gibson's Add. to Camden, 725.—The men of Powys so distinguished themselves in this battle, that they obtained from Cadwallon a boon of fourteen privileges. The Welch call the scene of conflict Meigen. Cynddelw, cited in Owen's *Llywarch*, p. 117. An old Welch chronology dates it in 616. Camb. Reg. 1796, p. 313.

country.

BOOK
II.Cadwal-
lon's suc-
cesses.

country. The royal widow fled in terror, under the protection of Paulinus and a valiant soldier, with some of her children, to her kinsman in Kent⁶³.

On Edwin's death the ancient divisions of Northumbria again prevailed, and an heptarchy re-appeared. His cousin Ofric, the nephew of Ella, succeeded to Deira, and Eanfrid, the long exiled son of Ethelfrith, to Bernicia; both restored paganism. The Welch king Cadwallawn, full of projects of revenge against the nation of the Angli, continued his war. Ofric rashly ventured to besiege him in a strong town⁶⁴, but an unexpected sally of Cadwallawn destroyed the king of Deira. For a year the victor desolated Northumbria; his success struck Eanfrid with

⁶³ Eadbald received them honourably, Bede, l. 2. c. 20.—Sax. Chron. 29.—He gave her the villam maximam Lininge (Limington) cum omnibus adjacentibus, in which she built a monastery. Hugo. Candid. Cænob. Burg. Hist. p. 37. ed. Sparke. She exhibited a novelty to the English which produced serious consequences. She took the veil. Smith's notes on Bede, 101.—The hospitality of Eadbald seems not to have been unchequered; her apprehension of him and Oswald induced her to send her children to France, to Dagobert, their relation. Bede, c. 20.

⁶⁴ Bede, l. 3. c. 1. The town was a municipium, and was therefore in all probability York. Smith's notes on Bede, 103.—Bede calls this year, 634, infaustus annus, and says that it remained to his day omnibus bonis exosus. The apostacy of the English kings, and the remorseless tyranny or revenge of the Cambro-Briton, gave it a fatal pre-eminence which time could not easily obliterate.

terror,

terror, and his panic hurried him to his fate. He went with twelve soldiers to sue peace of the Welchman. Notwithstanding the sacred purpose of his visit he was put to death.

The swords of Cadwallawn and his army seemed the agents destined to fulfil their cherished prophecy. The fate of the Anglo-Saxons was now about to arrive; three of their kings had been already offered up to the shades of the injured Cymry; an Arthur had revived in Cadwallawn. — Alas! how erroneous are all human calculations! We never know but that the same moon which silvers our most gorgeous trophies, may also make visible the chilling prison of our tomb. This moment we smile and vaunt; one more, and tears bedew our high-plumed hearse.

Triumphant with the fame of fourteen great battles and sixty skirmishes⁶⁵, Cadwallawn despised

⁶⁵ Owen's Llywarch, 111.

Cadwallawn, since he is come,

He that formed him did amply satisfy us. He fought fourteen Great battles for the most fair Britain, and sixty skirmishes. Jeffry, l. 12. c. 9. admits that Cadwallo spared neither age nor sex, and that his resolution being to extirpate the whole Saxon race out of Britain, all that he found he put to extreme tortures. Jeffry gives the termination of his life to old age and sickness, after a reign of forty-eight years. The Britons embalmed his body, and inclosed it in a brazen statue. This they placed on a brazen horse of admirable beauty, over the western gate of London, for a terror to

the

BOOK
II.

Oswald de-
feats him.

spised the rash youth who presented himself in arms to impede his full success. The blood of Eanfrid his brother, and the cries of desolated Northumbria, demanded of Oswald to be the deliverer of the land; with humble confidence he committed his cause to the arbitration of providence⁶⁶, and calmly awaited the decision on the banks of the Denise⁶⁷. There "the enthralled of Lloegyrt, the fierce affliction of his foes, the prosperous lion," fell: "The wrath of slaughter hastened to make the eagles full"⁶⁸.

Cadwallon the Saxons; underneath they built a church in honour of St. Martin to celebrate his obsequies, c. 13. It is a pity that Jeffry forgot to mention how the Cambro Britons got to London, because as Mercia, Wessex, Kent, and Essex, were rather interested to prevent them, and balloons were not then known, a pyrrhonist might be saucy enough to doubt the possibility of their arrival.

⁶⁶ The piety of Oswald previous to the battle is expressed by Bede. To his arrayed army he loudly exclaimed: "Let us kneel to the omnipotent Lord, the existing and the true, and unite to implore his protection against a fierce and arrogant enemy. He shows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our people."—The army obeyed the royal mandate. l. 3. c. 2.

⁶⁷ Camden places this battle at Dilston, formerly Devilston, on a small brook which empties into the Tint; 834, Gib. Ed.—Smith, with greater probability, marks Erringburn as the rivulet on which Cadwallo perished, and the fields either of Cockley, Hallington, or Bingfield, as the scene of conflict. App. to Bede, 721: The Angles called it Hefenfield, which name, according to tradition, Bingfield bore.

⁶⁸ Llywarch, l. 111. 115. 117. This ancient bard composed an elegy on his friend.—Jeffry, with his usual dexterity of misunderstanding and mistating, though he admits Oswald to have conquered

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Cadwallawn and the flower of his army perished. The return of the Cymry to their ancient country never became probable again.

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VI.

quered at Hevenfield, yet obligingly has sent there Penda to be the person defeated, and instead of suffering his Cadwallawn to perish there, inflames him with rage at the disaster, and dispatches him like lightning in chase of Oswald, whom he permits Penda to kill; Cadwallawn then became possessed of all Britain. l. 12. c. 10. c. 12.

BOOK
II.
Oswald
reigns.

C H A P. VII.

*Continuation of the History of the Oſtarchy to the
Death of Ina in 728.*

BOOK
II.

Oſwald
reigns.

THE piety of Oſwald was ſincere, and influenced his conduct; he obtained a biſhop from Icolm-kill to inſtruct his rude ſubjects, and he earneſtly laboured to advance their moral tuition; his own example ſtrengthened his recommendations on that eſſential duty, without which all human talents, and all human aggrandizement, are unavailing decorations. In the feſtival of Eaſter a ſilver diſh was laid before him, full of dainties; while the bleſſing was about to be pronounced, the ſervant appointed to relieve the poor informed the king, that the ſtreet was crowded with the needy, ſoliciting alms. The preſence of the delicacies might inflame appetite, but they alſo ſuggeſted forcibly the reflection, that while he was feaſting with boundleſs luxury, many of his ſubjects, beings of feelings, appetites, and neceſſities like his own, were ſtruggling with the agonizing gripe of poverty. He could not revel when others ſo near to him were ſtarving,

starving, and he ordered the food, untouched, to be given to the supplicants, and the silver dish to be divided among them ⁶⁹. The beggar for one instant participated in the enjoyments of a king, and rank was admonished to look with compassion on the misery which surrounds it.

Oswald had the satisfaction of perceiving the blessings of christianity diffused into Wessex. A spirit so lowly and so charitable must have felt exquisitely the beauties of its benign morality. He stood sponsor for Cynegils, who received baptism. The nation followed the example of the king ⁷⁰.

While Oswald was benefiting his age by a display of those gentle virtues which above all others are fitted to ameliorate the human character, the Mercian tyrant was extending distress to every province which his sword could reach. He expelled Cenwalch, the son and successor of Cynegils, from Wessex, for repudiating his sister, who lived three years in exile in Essex ⁷¹, and he destroyed the benevolent Oswald at Oswestre, in Shropshire, in the thirty-eighth year of his age,

Slain by
Penda.

⁶⁹ Bede, l. 3. c. 6. Oswald was nepos Edwini regis ex sorore Acha. Ib.—As he united Deira and Bernicia, the Saxon states formed, during his reign, an hexarchy.

⁷⁰ Bede, l. 3. c. 7.

⁷¹ Bede, ib.

Penda attacks Bebbanburgh.

and the ninth of his reign. Oswald breathed his last sigh in prayer for his friends⁷², and exchanged a turbulent kingdom for the blissful realms of peace and love.

Insatiable in acts of ferocity, Penda caused the head and limbs of Oswald to be severed from his body, and exposed on stakes⁷³. He proceeded through Northumbria with devastations, and finding himself unable to carry the royal city of Bebbanburgh by storm, he inhumanly resolved to destroy it by fire. He demolished all the villages in its vicinity, and encompassing the place with an immense quantity of the wood and thatch of the ruins, he surrounded the city with an arch of flame. But Providence does not always suffer enormous wickedness to achieve its purposes. The wind, which was raising the fiery shower above the city walls, suddenly shifted. The element of destruction, most fatal to man, was driven back from its expected prey on those who had let it loose, and the sanguinary besiegers, in panic or in prudence, abandoned the place⁷⁴.

⁷² Bede, l. 3. c. 9. and c. 12. Bede adorns the tomb of Oswald with some miracles, which may have pleased an ignorant age, but which reason either explains by the influence of credulity, or else rejects as unsupported by adequate proof.

⁷³ Bede, l. 2. cap. 12. Oswy, his successor, removed and interred them. Ib.

⁷⁴ Bede, l. 3. c. 16.

The Northumbrians rallied under Oswy, the brother of Oswald, and the furious Penda, turning from their rage, burst on East Anglia. Although now seventy years of age, his avidity for the slaughter of battle was undiminished. The East Anglians, fearful lest their reigning monarch should be unable to confront the pressing danger, drew by force from his retreat Sigbercht, who had abdicated his throne for a monastery; they compelled him to head again that army which had prospered under his guidance; he led them to the shock, but disclaiming all weapons of destruction, he used only a wand of command. His skill was excelled by the veteran ability of Penda. Both the East Anglian princes fell. Anna, their successor, afterwards shared their fate. His crime was unpardonable in the eyes of Penda. He had hospitably received Cenwalch⁷⁵.

Destroys
the kings
of East
Anglia.

In that warlike age, when every man was a soldier, no conquest was permanent, no victor secure. Penda lived to exhibit an instance of this truth. When Oswy assumed the government of Bernicia on the death of Oswald, he placed Oswin, son of Ofric, the kinsman of the applauded Edwin, over Deira. Oswin, of a tall

⁷⁵ Bede, l. 3. cap. 18. and c. 7.

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II.Oswin
killed.

and graceful stature, distinguished himself for his humanity and generosity, but could not allay the jealousy of Oswy, who soon became eager to destroy the image he had set up. Oswin shrunk from a martial conflict, and concealed himself, with one faithful soldier, in the house of earl Hunwald, his assured friend. This assured friend and most despicable man betrayed him to Oswy, and suffered him to be murdered ⁷⁶.

655.

Oswy, whose ambition thus stained him with that blood which no time could cleanse away, was the minister of punishment destined to free the world from the direful Penda. When this aged tyrant was preparing to invade his dominions, he sued long and earnestly for peace in vain. At the age of eighty, the pagan chief still courted the dismal smiles of his Odin, still delighted to prepare the banquet for the falcon and the wolf. Rejecting the negotiations repeatedly offered, he hastened with his fierce veterans to add Oswy to the five monarchs whose funereal honours recorded him as their destroyer. With trembling anxiety Oswy met him, with his son Alchfrid and a much inferior force; but the battle is not always given to the strong, nor the race to the swift. Penda had filled up the measure of his iniqui-

⁷⁶ Bede, l. 3. c. 14.

ties, and nature was weary of a monster whose appetite for destruction age could not diminish. The awful decree was executed; the vaunting dethroner of kings, with thirty commanders, perished before the enemy, whose greatest strength they had subdued, and whose present feebleness they despised. The plains of Yorkshire witnessed the emancipation of England ⁷⁷.

By the death of Oswin the hexarchy returned; by the death of Penda a pentarchy appeared, for the kingdom of Mercia became the reward of Oswy ⁷⁸. Scotland felt his power.

⁷⁷ Sax. Chron, 33. Bede, 3. 24. Winwidfield, near Leeds, was the theatre of the conflict. Camden Gib. 711.—Bede does not explicitly assert that Penda had three times the number of forces, but that it was so reported. The son of Oswald was engaged against Oswy, but, like Stanley in Bosworth field, he withdrew from the battle, and neutrally awaited its decision. This secession may have produced a panic among the troops of Penda, or by occupying the jealous attention of part of them, diminished the number which rushed against Oswy. The principal leaders of the Mercians fell in defending Penda, and the country happening to be overflowed, more perished by the waters than by the sword.

⁷⁸ Oswy made Peada, the son of Penda, the sovereign of the southern Mercians, whom the Trent divided from the northern, and who consisted of 5000 families. Peada received the hand of Alhflæda, daughter of Oswy, as the price of his conversion, but was soon afterwards perfidiously murdered by his wife, ut dicunt. Bede, l. 3. 24. and c. 21. Langhorn, [209. — Camden and Speed, from an author little known, refer the guilt to his mother. Hugo Candidus, a monk of Peterborough monastery, which Peada founded, charges Alhflæda with the crime, p. 4. ed. Sparke. However this be, the Mercian commanders revolted from Oswy, and at length established Wuifhere, the brother of Peada, in the possession of the kingdom.

Cenwalch of Wessex defeated the Welch, who had imagined that the man chased by Penda would prove an easy conquest⁷⁹. Pen, in Somersetshire, was the scene of conflict, and the Britons were chased with great slaughter to Pedridan on the Parret⁸⁰. In the following year, A. D. 659, three Mercian chiefs revolted from Oswy, drove away his officers, and presented the crown to Wulfhere, the son of Penda, whom they had cherished in secrecy. The independence of Mercia was successfully asserted against the Northumbrians⁸¹. It had soon to endure a collision with Wessex. Cenwalch sought to revenge on Wulfhere the disgrace which he had suffered from his father. A struggle ensued, in which the Mercians prevailed, and subjected part of Wessex to the authority of Wulfhere⁸².

Mercia

⁷⁹ Huntingdon, l. 2. p. 317. et facta est super progeniem Bruti plaga insanabilis in die illa. Ib.

⁸⁰ "Et persecuti sunt eos usque ad locum qui Pederydan nuncupatur." Ethelwerd, p. 836.—So the Saxon Chronicle, hy gelymde oth Pedridan, p. 39.—This is a place on the Parret, in Somersetshire, the entrance of which was called Pedridan muth, perhaps the Aber Peryzon of Golyzan.

⁸¹ Bede, l. 3. c. 24.

⁸² Matt. West. 216.—The issue of this battle has been differently stated. Ethelwerd, 837, makes Cenwalch take Wulfhere prisoner at Ælsceldun, or Aston, near Wallingford, in Berks.—The Saxon Chron. 39. and Flor. Wigorn. 241. as far as they express themselves, imply the contrary.—Malmsh. says, the Mercian was

Mercia had under Peada admitted christianity; Essex about this period restored it, and during the reign of Wulfhere it was disseminated into Suffex⁸³. This province seems to have embraced the opportunity of Cenwalch's exile to terminate its subordination to Wessex. In 645 we hear of Penda's expelling Cenwalch from Wessex, and in 648 we find Edilwalch commencing his reign as king of Suffex⁸⁴; but Edilwalch bowed to the sword of Wulfhere, and in 661 received the Isle of Wight, and the Meanwara district in Hampshire⁸⁵, part of the spoils of Wessex, from the bounty of his conqueror. Essex also submitted to Wulfhere⁸⁶.

at first graviter afflictus by the loss, but afterwards avenged himself, p. 27.—The expressions of Bede, that Wulfhere gave the Isle of Wight and a province in West Saxony to the king of Suffex in one part of his life, l. 4. c. 13. and that Cenwalch, during Wulfhere's life, was gravissimis regni sui damnis sæpissime ab hostibus addictus, l. 3. c. 7. fully countenance the idea, that if Cenwalch at first prevailed, the ultimate triumphs were enjoyed by Wulfhere.

⁸³ Bede, l. 3. c. 21. Ib. c. 22. l. 4. c. 13.

⁸⁴ Matt. West. p. 224, mentions the expulsion of Cenwalch. So Floren. Wig. p. 237.—In 648 the exiled monarch returned. Flor. W. 238.—In 661 Matt. West. places the 13th year of Aethelwald's reign in Suffex, p. 232.

⁸⁵ Bede, l. 4. c. 13. Sax. Chron. p. 39. The annotator on Bede remarks, that the memorial of this province remains still in the names of the hundreds of Meansbrough, Eastmean, Westmean, and Mansbridge. Smith's Bede, p. 155.

⁸⁶ Bede, l. 3. c. 30.—Hugo Candidus names Sigher as the king of Suffex subdued by Wulfhere. Cœnob. Burg. Hist. p. 7 and 8.—This is a misnomer. Sigher reigned with Sebbi in Essex at this period.

BOOK
II.

670.

Oswy's
death.

Oswy is ranked by Bede the seventh, as Oswald had been the sixth, of the kings who preponderated in the Anglo-Saxon octarchy⁸⁷. He died in this year⁸⁸. His greatest action was the deliverance of the Anglo-Saxons from the oppressions of Penda; he also subdued the Picts and Scots; but the fate of the amiable Oswin shades his memory with a dark cloud, which has never dissipated⁸⁹. Alfrid, his eldest son, who had assisted to gain the laurels of his fame in the field of Winwid, was rejected from the succession for his illegitimacy, and the younger Ecgrid was placed over the united kingdoms of Northumbria⁹⁰.

672.
Saxburga.

On the death of Cenwalch, his widow Saxburga assumed the sceptre of Wessex. She wielded it with courage and intelligence; she augmented her army with new levies, and encouraged her veterans. The submissive were re-

⁸⁷ Bede, l. 2. c. 5. Sax. Chron. p. 7.

⁸⁸ Sax. Chron. 40. Chron. Abb. Petri de Burgo, p. 2.

⁸⁹ If Oswin's character has not been too favourably drawn, his death was a great loss to his contemporaries. His tall and handsome person was adorned by a disposition unfrequent in his age; affatu jucundus, moribus civilis, omnibus manu largus, regum humilimus, amabilis omnibus. Flor. Wig. 237. To the same purport Bede, l. 3. c. 14. and Matt. West. 224.

⁹⁰ Reprobato notho—sactione optimatum quanquam senior. Malmf. 20, 21.—Ecgrid had resided as a hostage with the Mercian queen at the time of Penda's fall. Bede 3. 24.

warded

warded by her clemency ; to the enemy a firm countenance was displayed⁹¹; but the proud barbarians of Wexsex disdained even a government of wisdom in the form of a woman⁹², and for ten years the nobles shared the government. In the first part of this interval, in 674, *Æscuin*, son of *Cenfusus*, a prevailing noble, descended from *Cerdic*, is mentioned to have ruled⁹³. He led a powerful force against the king of Mercia ; a battle, in which the mutual destruction was more conspicuous than the decision, ensued at *Bedwin* in Wilts. It is worth our while, says the moralizing historian, to observe how contemptible are the glorious wars and noble achievements of the great. Both these con-

Æscuin,

⁹¹ *Malmsh.* 14. She reigned for one year. *Sax. Chron.* 41.

⁹² "Indignantibus regni magnatibus expulsa est a regno, nolentibus sub sexu foemineo militare." *Matt. West.* 236.

⁹³ There is a seeming contradiction on this point between *Bede* and the *Saxon Chronicle*. *Bede*, l. 3. c. 12. says, that after *Cenwalch's* death *acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis, et divisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter decem.*—*Flor. Wig.* 246. mentions this passage, but mentions also the opposite account of the *Anglica Chronica*. The *Saxon Chronicle*, after *Saxburga's* year, places *Æscuin* in 674, and *Kentwin* in 676, both within the ten years of *Bede*, p. 41, 44. I dare not reject the evidence of *Bede*, who was born at this time. Perhaps *Æscuin* and *Kentwin* were the most powerful of the nobles, and being of the race of *Cerdic*, enjoyed the supremacy. *Ina's* charter authenticates *Kentwin's* reign. See it in *Malmsh. de Ant. Glast.* 3 *Gale*, 311. *Alfred*, in his chronological Fragment, inserted in his *Bede*, mentions both *Æscuin* and *Kentwin*. *Walker's Ælfred. mag. App.* p. 199,

tending

Kentwin.

Ecgrid of
Northum-
bria

tending kings, whose vanity and pomp hurled thousands of their fellow creatures to their graves, scarcely survived the battle a year⁹⁴. Within a few months Wulfhere died of a natural disease, and in 676 Ælscin followed. Kentwin is designated his successor⁹⁵; and Ethelred, the surviving son of Penda, acceded to the crown of Mercia, and ravaged Kent⁹⁶.

Ecgrid, who was governing in Northumbria, had repulsed with great slaughter an invasion of the Picts. Their general Bernhaeth fell, and the corse of his followers stopped the current of the river which flowed near the scene of ruin⁹⁷. In 679 Ecgrid invaded Mercia, though Ethelred had married his sister. On the Trent the shock of ambition took place; Ælscin, the brother of the aggressor, fell. More calamitous warfare impended from the exasperation of the combatants, when the aged Theodore interposed. His function derived new weight from his character, and he established a pacification between the related combatants. A pecuniary mulct

⁹⁴ H. Hunting. p. 318. Sax. Chron. 45.

⁹⁵ Sax. Chron. 44. Ethelwerd, 837.

⁹⁶ Sax. Chron. 44. The Chronicon of Peterborough dates the invasion of Kent in 677, p. 3.

⁹⁷ Malmsh. Gest. Pontif. l. 3. p. 261. Eddius fills two rivers with the bodies, over which the victors passed siccis pedibus. Vit. Wilf. c. 19. p. 61. ed. Gale.

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VII.

compensated for the fate of Elfuin, and the retaliation in human blood was prevented⁹⁸. In the year 681, Kentwin of Wessex attacked the Britons in the west with success, and chased them to the sea⁹⁹.

Withheld from molesting the Anglo-Saxons, the restless Ecgfrid turned his arms upon Ireland. This nation, the land of pleasant towns, although by some of its tribes occasionally at variance with the Welch, had always continued in strict amity

684.

invades
Ireland.

⁹⁸ Bede, l. 4. c. 21. Malmib. 20, 28. Sax. Chron. 44. Ecgfrid had conquered Lincolnshire from Wulfhere before Ethelred's accession. Bede, l. 2. c. 12.

⁹⁹ Sax. Chron. 45; or in 682, Flor. Wig. 253. The stubborn fact of the Anglo-Saxons maintaining their possession of England forbidding Jeffry to extirpate them from the island, all that he could do for the Cambro-Britons was to postpone the loss of it to the latest possible period. Hence it is not until the reign of Cadwallader that he admits his countrymen to have given up Britain, and even this event was not produced by the Saxon sword; it was an horrible famine and a pestilence, which left not survivors enough to bury the dead, that at last drove the miserable natives into Armorica, notwithstanding Cadwallo's statue still frowned in London; and when an exile, nothing less than an angel's prohibiting voice could deter Cadwallader from failing to reconquer Britain, l. 12. c. 15. c. 17. At last the king of Armorica took up the avenging spear; his son sailed, and conquered Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, met Kentwin to fight him, but instead of being chased back to the sea, as the Saxons slander, married the cousin of Kentwin, and not only kept Wales, but succeeded to the throne of Wessex, conquered Kent and Mercia, and, wearied with victory, resigned Wessex to Adelrad, Wales to Roderic Molwinoc, and went peaceably to Rome. Wynne's Caradoc Llan. p. 140.

with

BOOK
II.Perishes
against the
Picts.

with the English ¹⁰⁰; but this peaceful forbearance was no protection from the avarice of power. Their country was miserably ravaged by Beorht, the Northumbrian general; the lands of Bregb were plundered, and many churches and monasteries were destroyed ¹⁰¹. The islanders defended their domestic lares with valour, and the Angles retreated. In the next year the king invaded the Picts, eager to partake the gale of glory. Suddenly the phantom of fame changed into the ominous spectre of his destiny. A feigned flight of the natives seduced him into a defile. At Drumnechtan the fierce assault of patriotism was made, and the cruel aggression was punished by the death of Ecgfrid and most of his troops ¹⁰². The corpse of Ecgfrid was buried at Icolmkill.

This

¹⁰⁰ Bede characterizes the Irish as a people *innocentem et nationem Anglorum semper amicissimam*, l. 4. c. 26.—Malmesbury describes them as a *genus hominum innocens, genuina simplicitate, nil unquam mali moliens*, p. 20.—Myrzin intitles Ireland, or Iwerzon, the land of pleasant towns. Owen's Dict. voc. Dygyvysgi.

¹⁰¹ Annals of Ulster, Johnstone's *Celts Scandicæ*, p. 59.—Bede, l. 4. c. 26.—Flaherty's *Ogygia*, 230.—Chron. S. Petri Burgo 3.—Wynne's *Caradoc*, p. 15.—The historian of Llancarvan declares, that a remarkable earthquake annoyed the Isle of Man. Both he and the Saxon Chronicle unite to assure us, that it rained blood in Britain and Ireland, that butter and milk became ruddy, and that soon afterwards the moon dressed herself in the sanguinary garment!!

¹⁰² *Extinctus est apud Nechtanesmere, quod est stagnum Nechtani, &c. corpus in Hii insula Columbæ sepultum est.* Sim. Dun. 5.—

" Battle

This disastrous expedition abased the power of Northumbria to the dust¹⁰³. The Irish and Scotch disclaimed its predominance, and some of the Welch princes obtained their independance. The sceptre, which in the hands of Ethelfrid, Edwin, and Oswy, had menaced the other kingdoms with subjection, was formidable no more. The thrones of Wessex and Mercia obscured it by their splendour, and it became at last a dismal arena of incessant usurpations.

Alfrid was now admitted to the royal dignity. This worthy prince, the precursor of his great namesake, and perhaps the model which kindled the emulation and directed the pursuits of the son of Ethelwulph, had been educated by the celebrated Wilfrid¹⁰⁴. He had governed Deira under his father Oswy, and had contributed to

Alfrid of
Northumbria.

¹⁰³ Battle of Drumnechtan on the 20th of May, where Ecgrid "McOffa" was killed, with a vast number of his men, in the "fifteenth year of his reign. He burnt Tula-aman Duinol-
"la." Annals of Ulster, p. 59. Bede, l. 4. c. 26. Malmsh.
21.—Thirteen years afterwards Beorht, endeavouring to revenge the calamity by another invasion, also perished. Bede, 5. 24.—
Ann. Ulst. 59. Sax. Chr. 49. Hunting. 337.

¹⁰⁴ "Imminuta Northumbrensiū post Ecgridi mortem potentia, translata est ab iis ad occidentales Saxones monarchia," says Langhorn in his elaborate and very useful Chronicle, p. 237.—Bede remarks the *finēs angustiores* of Northumbria after Ecgrid, l. 4. c. 26.

¹⁰⁴ Bede, l. 3. c. 25. He remunerated his preceptor by a bishopric in the second year of his reign. Ib. l. 5. c. 19.—Eddius Vit. Wilf. c. 43.

the

the defeat of Penda. He cultivated a friendship with Peada, and married his sister. By inspiring Peada with a respect for christianity, he occasioned its establishment in Mercia¹⁰⁵.

Rejected by a faction of the great from the crown of his father, he raised not the sword of military competition against his brother; nobler objects attracted and rewarded his intelligent moderation. He devoted himself to piety and literature, and voluntarily retired into Ireland, that he might pursue his unambitious studies, and save his brother from the torment and the crimes of jealousy¹⁰⁶. For fifteen years he enjoyed a life of philosophic tranquillity and progressive improvement. The books revered by christians engrossed so much of his studies, that one of his epithets was, *in scripturis doctissimus*¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁵ Bede, l. 3. c. 21. c. 24. He reigned under his father.—Edmundus, c. 7. c. 10. So Bede implies, c. 25.

¹⁰⁶ *et In insulis Scotorum ob studium literarum exulabat—in regionibus Scotorum lectioni operam dabat—ipse ob amorem sapientiae spontaneum passus exilium.*—Bede Vita S. Cuthberti c. 24.—“In Hyberniam seu vi seu indignatione secesserat, ibi et ab odio germani tutus, et magno otio literis imbutus, omni philosophia composuerat animum.” Malmesbury, 21.—Viro undecumque doctissimo. Bede Hist. l. 5. c. 12.—Rex sapientissimus. Edmundus Vit. Wilf. c. 43.—The wise king of the Saxons. Annals Ulster, p. 60.

¹⁰⁷ Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 300.—Smith's Bede.—Alcuin describes him thus: Qui sacris fuerat studiis imbutus ab annis ætatis primæ, valido sermone sophista acer et ingenio, idem rex simul atque magister. De Pont. 713.

He exhibited to the world this unmatched example of contented privacy till the death of Ecgfrid raised him to the throne without a crime. He governed the kingdom with the same virtue with which he had resigned it; he listened not to the mocking syrens of ambition; he derived his happiness from the peace and enjoyments of his people¹⁰⁸; he encouraged literature, received the Asiatic travels of Arcuulfus, written by Adamnan, with kindness, liberally rewarded the author, and by his bounty caused the composition to be imparted to others¹⁰⁹. Northumbria was blessed with his superintendence for nineteen years.

Encourages literature.

In the year of Ecgfrid's destruction, Ceadwalla began to contend for the throne of Wessex; he was descended from Cerdic, through Cealwin

Ceadwalla.

¹⁰⁸ "Per decem et novem annos summa pace et gaudio provinciae praefuit: nihil unquam praeter in persecutione magni Wilfridi quod livor edax digne carpere posset admittens." Malmsh. 21. Alcuin.

¹⁰⁹ Bede, l. 5. c. 15. Bede calls the book de locis sanctis multis utillimum. Arcuulfus surveyed Jerusalem, Palestine, Damascus, Constantinople, Alexandria, and the Archipelago. Returning home he was driven by a tempest on Britain; Adamnan received him, listened eagerly to his conversations, and immediately committed them to writing. Bede, ib.—This work of Adamnan is apud Mabillon Act. Ben. Sæc. 3. part 2. p. 502. Smith's notes on Bede, 200.—There is a tract of Bede de locis sanctis, taken from this of Adamnan, printed, p. 315, of Smith's edition.—The famous Aldhelm addressed to Alfrid one of his compositions, whose subjects are mentioned by Malmshury de Pontif. l. 5. p. 342. Gale.

and his son Cutha¹¹⁰. A youth of great promise, he suffered no opportunity of exerting his warlike talents to occur unimproved. Banished from his country by the factious chiefs who governed it, he was assiduous to assemble from it a military force, and he succeeded in drawing the youth of Wexsex to his standard¹¹¹. In Selsey he obtained money and horses from Wilfrid the bishop¹¹², and directed his first onset on the king of Suffex, whom he surprised and destroyed, and whose kingdom he desolated. The royal generals, who had been warring in Kent, returned, and expelled the invader¹¹³, who profited by his expulsion to secure to himself the crown of Wexsex. This accession of strength he wielded triumphantly against Suffex, which lost its defenders, and yielded to the fortune of his arms¹¹⁴. Ceadwalla also captured the Isle of Wight¹¹⁵.

For

¹¹⁰ Sax. Chron. 43. Malmsh. in his Life of Aldhelm, p. 11. Wharton's Ang. Sac. 2, or 3 Gale, 346, says, that Kentwin, morbo et senio gravis, appointed Ceadwalla his successor; but as Kentwin only reigned nine years, the addition of senio gravis can hardly be correct.

¹¹¹ Malmsh. p. 14.

¹¹² Malmsh. de Gest. Pontif. l. 3. p. 285.

¹¹³ Bede, l. 4. c. 13. Flor. Wig. 255.

¹¹⁴ Bede, ib. Flor. Wig. 255. Langhorn Chron. 241, 242. Suffex is said by Bede to have contained the land of 7000 families, l. 4. c. 13.

¹¹⁵ During this conquest he formed the inhuman project of destroying

For two years Ceadwalla and his brother Mollo plundered Kent, which had been harassed by Suffex, and weakened by incapable rulers¹¹⁶. The natives viewed the spoilers for some time with fruitless indignation. Town after town was ravaged. Rousing themselves at last, the men of Kent collected into a competent body, and attacked him with auspicious valour. Mollo fled with twelve soldiers into a cottage. The injured natives brutally surrounded it with flames, and they were cruelly reduced to ashes¹¹⁷. We may lament the fate of Mollo, for he is described as a worthy and pleasant man, terrible in strength, yet mild in aspect, and amiable in disposition. His chief defect was an insatiable thirst for fame¹¹⁸; but he was prosecuting an unjust warfare, and though a well-instructed mind will

Mollo's castle
tastrophe.

stroying its inhabitants, and of re-peopling it from his own province. Bede, l. 4. c. 15.

¹¹⁶ Hunting. l. 4. p. 335. Malmesbury mentions the civil wars, which also afflicted Kent, l. 1. p. 11.—In the preceding year, pestilentia depopulata est Britanniam. Chron. Petri de Burgo, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ Malmesbury, p. 11. Sax. Chron. p. 46.—Huntingdon gives a little variation of circumstances; he does not state a general battle, which Malmesbury in his tandem animati ad manus veniunt implies, but that, careless from his success, Mollo went on a marauding party with only twelve soldiers, was surrounded by an inopinato multitudo, and destroyed by flames in the house he was pillaging, p. 336.—W. Thorn, in his Chronica, places the catastrophe at Canterbury, p. 1770. x Script.

¹¹⁸ Huntingdon, p. 335.

BOOK
II.

give him the tributary sigh, it must not forget the sympathy due to those he had oppressed.

In obeying the impulse of a headlong wrath, the Kentish men forgot that cruelty makes even the injured odious, and justifies punishment; it much oftener stimulates revenge than deters it. The brother of Mollo was on the throne of Wessex, and in the following year spread a torrent of vindictive calamities through Kent, which it mourned in all its districts¹¹⁹. Ceadwalla travelled to Rome, where he was baptized by the pope, and died in the following week¹²⁰.

Ceadwalla's death.

688.

Ina's accession.

Ina, of the royal family of Cerdic, succeeded. He was the son of Cenred, who was the nephew of Cynegils¹²¹. His father was living at the period of his accession.

¹¹⁹ Sax. Chron. 46. Hunting. 336.

¹²⁰ Sax. Chron. 46.—The Chronicle of Peterborough improperly baptizes and kills him at London, p. 4.—Bede, l. 5. c. 7. gives the poetical epitaph engraven on the tomb of this short-lived conqueror.

¹²¹ Sax. Chron. 47. Bede, 5. 7. The Welch authors either have succeeded to Merlin's magical power of transforming one person into the figure of another, or all the Saxon annalists were dreaming when they fancied they were writing history. Caradoc brings Ivor, the son of Alan, king of Armorica, with his cousin Inyr, to assert the sceptre of Cadwallader. Ivor, after reigning in Wales, succeeds Cadwalla in Wessex, founds Glastonbury Abbey, and resigns in favour of his cousin Adelrad, p. 14.—Turn to the Saxons, and we learn that Ina succeeded Cadwalla; that he was a Saxon, descended from Cealwin and Cerdic; that he founded the abbey, and was succeeded by Æthelard.

The Saxon octarchy, amidst all its vicissitudes, presented in one province or the other an uninterrupted succession of great men. From Hengist to Egbert talents were never wanting on some of the Anglo-Saxon thrones. The direction of the royal capacity varied; in some kings valour, in others military conduct; in some piety, in some learning, in some legislative wisdom, predominated. The result was, that the Anglo-Saxons, though fluctuating in the prosperity of their several districts, yet, considered as a nation, went on rapidly improving in civilization and power; and when the independent sovereignties were compressed into one universal government, an active and formidable nation arose to the notice of Europe, whose intellect and energy have struggled with every other for the palm of excellence, and have planted their fruitful scions in every climate of the habitable world.

Much of the fame of Ina has been gained by his legislation. He published a collection of laws, which yet remain¹²², and he deserves the gratitude of mankind in common with every other law-giver. Whoever applies himself to

His laws.

¹²² Wilkins's *Leges Saxonice*, p. 14—27. The first paragraph of these announces his father Cenred as one of the counsellors by whose advice he promulgated them.

mark the useful limits of human action, to set boundaries to outrageous selfishness, to establish the provisions of justice in defence of the weak or injured, and to rescue the criminal from punishments of caprice or favour, is a character intitled to the veneration of mankind. A declamation against laws is a satire upon wisdom the most benevolent. Laws must partake of the ignorance and spirit of the age which gave them birth. An Ina must legislate as an Ina, and for the people of an Ina. If the subsequent improvements of mankind discover that prior regulations have been defective, let succeeding legislators correct those provisions, which the progress of society has made obsolete or improper. What they may devise, their posterity, who will have changed into new beings, may mould into a fitter correspondence with their own necessities; but to abolish all laws, because laws are not all perfect, would be to unchain the tyger passions of mankind, and to convert society into an African desert or Cytherean brothel.

694.
Kent de-
vastated.

The wrath of the West Saxons for the fate of Mollo had not yet relented; they would not reflect that the burning of the cottage was the hasty act of a few individuals, and not the deliberate crime of the whole nation. With inhu-
manity

manity greater than that which they professed to chastise, they desolated Kent with unremitting severity. At length, when the victors were fatigued with destruction, their hostilities were appeased by the homicidal mulct of thirty thousand marks of gold¹²³. Wihtred, from the line of Ethelbert, had obtained the crown of Kent, and terminated the miseries which the people had suffered from a turbulent inter-regnum and avenging invasion¹²⁴.

In 697 the Mercian nobility displayed the ferocity of the age in cruelly destroying Ostrida, the wife of Ethelred, their reigning king¹²⁵. The cause of her fate is not known. The reason adduced by Langhorn¹²⁶, that her sister had murdered Peada, is unlikely, because this event had occurred near forty years before. Ethelred left the throne in 704, to become monk and

Mercians
destroy
their queen.

¹²³ Sax. Chron. 47, 48. Malmesbury, 14.—Others make the payment smaller, as Polychronicon, p. 243, 3000 pounds.—Flor. Wig. p. 260, 3750. Wihtred, unable to resist Ina, proposed the expiatory fine. Huntingd. 337.

¹²⁴ Sax. Chron. 48. Huntingd. 337.

¹²⁵ Bede, 5. c. ult. Sax. Chron. 49. Flor. Wig. 260. Matt. West. 250.—She was sister to Ecgfrid, and daughter of Oswy.—I observe her name signed to a charter of Peterborough monastery in 680. 1 Dugd. Monast. 67. Ego Ostrich regina Ethelredi,

¹²⁶ Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 256.

abbot of Bardney ¹²⁷; he was succeeded by his nephew Cenred ¹²⁸.

In 705, Alfrid of Northumbria was succeeded by his son Ofred, a child of eight years ¹²⁹. A rebel Edulf usurped the sceptre, and besieged the royal infant and his guardian Berthfrid in Bebbanburgh, the metropolis of this northern kingdom ¹³⁰. The nobles and people armed in defence of Ofred, and before the usurper had enjoyed his shadow of dignity above two months, he was destroyed.

In 709, Cenred of Mercia, and Offa of Essex, went to Rome, and assumed the monastic profession ¹³¹. In 710, Berthfrid, the protecting præfect of Northumbria, defeated the Picts between Hæfe and Cære, in the field of Manan.

¹²⁷ In this capacity he died in 716. Chron. Petri de Burgo, 6.

¹²⁸ Malmſbury, 28.

¹²⁹ Bede, l. 5. c. 18.

¹³⁰ Malmſb. de Pontif. l. 3. p. 268. Eddius Vit. Wilf. c. 57. p. 85.—Hoveden describes Bebbanburgh to have been a city, munitissima non admodum magna, sed quasi duorum vel trium agrorum spatium, habens unum introitum cavatum, et gradibus miro modo exaltatum. On the top of the mountain was the church. Annal. pars prior, 403.

¹³¹ Bede, 5. 19. He describes Offa as a most amiable youth, whom pure devotion induced to abdicate his power. A more enlightened virtue would have counselled him to have kept, for the benefit of his subjects, the dignity he was so worthy to possess. Huntingdon observes, that the example of these two kings produced many thousands of imitators, p. 337.

Finguin M^c Delaroith perished in the battle¹³². It is not stated who commanded the Picts, but Nectan, or Naiton, was king of the Picts at this period¹³³.

Ina continued to reign prosperously. In 710 he waged war with Geraint, the king of Cornwall. Amid the first charges, Higbald, a Saxon leader, fell; but at last the Britons fled¹³⁴. In 715 he prosecuted a war with Ceolred, who had succeeded his cousin Cenred in Mercia. At Wodnesbury they met; the slaughter of the

Ina defeats
Geraint,

and Ceol-
red.

¹³² Sax. Chron. 50. Flor. Wig. 264. Bede, 5. 24. dates it 711. Gibson, in his Appendix to the Chronicle, conjectures that Hæfe and Cære were Carehouse and Heefeld, a little beyond the wall, p. 18. "710. Slaughter of the Picts in the field of Manap, among the Saxons, where Finguin M^c Delaroith perished." Annals of Ulster, p. 60.

¹³³ Nectan, in the Annals of Ulster, p. 60.—In 716 he drove the family of Iona beyond Drum-albin. Ib. p. 60.—In 725 he was put in chains by king Druft. Ib. p. 61.—Bede, l. 5. c. 21. calls him Naiton, and mentions his changing the time of Easter into the Roman period, which the Annals of Ulster place in 715. p. 60.

¹³⁴ Sax. Chron. 50. Hunting. 337. Flor. Wig. 264. This Geraint was the third of that name in Cornwall. Owen's Llywarch, p. 3. Aldhelm addressed to him a letter on the British celebration of Easter, which is among the epistles of Boniface. Biblioth. Magna Pat. v. 16. p. 65. ep. 44. In this he styles Geraint, domino gloriosissimo occidentalis regni sceptrā gubernanti, Geruntio regi. I know not why the romance of Tristan le Leonnois should paint the Cornish knights so degradingly, as to brand their crest as disgraceful, and to intimate that they were the butt of every one's taunt and raillery, (see the Romance in a new collection of Romances, p. 241 and 242.) The Geraint who fought with Arthur is depicted as the terrifier of the foe, the molester of the enemy, a strenuous warrior. Llywarch Hen, 3—11.

battle

battle was great ; the event was no advantage to either ¹³⁵.

In 716, Ceolred ¹³⁶ was succeeded by Ethelbald in Mercia, who possessed the crown for forty-one years ; in this year Ofred, the eldest son of Alfrid, was destroyed at the lake of Windamere by his revolting kinsmen ¹³⁷, one of whom, Coenred, the son of Cuthwin, succeeded ¹³⁸ ; but he fell from the agitated throne two years afterwards, and Osric, another son of the learned Alfrid, took his place ¹³⁹.

Inigils, the
ancestor of
Egbert.

In 718 Inigils, the brother of Ina, died. Though no atchievment of greatness is attached to his name in the rolls of history, yet the events of the future time have given it importance. Hewas the ancestor from whom Egbert and Alfred, and

¹³⁵ Sax. Chr. 50. Hunt. 338.

¹³⁶ Unless we interpret the account given by Boniface of Ceolred's dying conversation with the devil, who came for him in the middle of a feast, (Malmsh. 28.) as a sudden incidence of insanity, the missionary of Germany is at variance with Huntingdon ; he says of Ceolred, that *patriæ et avitæ virtutis hæres clarissime rexit*, p. 337.

¹³⁷ Malmsh. 21. Huntingd. 338. Bede, 5. 24. Sax. Chron. 51. Ofred has received the lash of Boniface. Malmsh. 28.—Malmshury complains of his *turpem vitam sanctimonialium exagitant*, p. 21.

¹³⁸ Bede, 5, 22. Flor. Wig. 266.

¹³⁹ Bede, 5. 23. Simeon Dunel. p. 7. The expressions of Malmshury imply that Osric assisted to procure his brother Ofred's death ; he says of Kenred and Osric, *domini sui occisi sanguinem luentes foedo exitu auras polluere*, p. 21.

the following Saxon monarchs of England, deduced their descent ¹⁴⁰.

CHAP.
VII.

Ina rebuilt the abbey of Glastonbury at the request of Aldhelm. It had been utterly destroyed, but he erected it with magnificence, and it lasted until the Danish ravages ¹⁴¹. The insurrection of pretenders disturbed the close of Ina's reign. In 721 he slew Cynewulf Ætheling, and in 722 his queen besieged another in Taunton, a castle which Ina had built to defend that part of his dominions, and in which Ealdbryht took his post of enmity. She levelled it to the ground, and the rebel withdrew into Suffex. Ina directed his forces against this province, and three years afterwards effected the destruction of his competitor ¹⁴².

Ina builds
Glaston-
bury
Abbey.

After a fortunate reign of thirty-seven years the king laid down his dignity. His queen had long counselled the voluntary humiliation, but the charms of habitual power defeated her eloquence. Travelling with the king one day after a splendid feast, Ethelburga invented pretences

His queen
advices his
abdication.

¹⁴⁰ Sax. Chron. 51. Asser. p. 3. Abb. Rieval. 350.

¹⁴¹ Brompton, p. 758. He founded the great church of Glastonbury pro anima propinqui ejus Mollonis. See his charters to it. 1 Dugdale Monast. 12, 13. Malmib. de Ant. Glaf. 3. Gale, 309. 3. 11. His other gifts to it were magnificent.

¹⁴² Sax. Chron. 52. Hunt. 338. Flor. Wig. 268.

to return. Ina obliged her, but was amazed to find his festive hall polluted with filth and rubbish, and a swinish litter on the couch of his repose. Turning to his queen for an explanation of the phenomenon which her orders had produced, she emphatically exclaimed, "Where is the merriment, the splendor, the luxury, the flattery of yesterday? Are they not all vapours, transient as the wind? As transitory are we who enjoy them. Are we not like a river hurrying to the dark ocean of illimitable time? Behold the disgusting spectacle of the dissolving viands. In their loathsome relics contemplate what our pampered bodies will become. Let us then cultivate objects more suitable to the condition we approach ¹⁴³."

Ina goes to Rome.

The singularity of the incident had full impression on the mind of Ina; he resigned his crown to his kinsmen, and travelled to Rome ¹⁴⁴. He founded there a Saxon school for the instruction of his countrymen, who chose to be educated there, and he added a church for their service,

¹⁴³ Malmsbury, p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Bede, 5. c. 7. Sax. Chron. 52. Flor. Wig. 269. M. West. 265. Bede says of Ina's journey, that it was what in these times *plures de gente Anglorum, nobiles, ignobiles, laici, clerici, viri ac feminae, certatim facere consueverunt.*—At Rome, clothed in a plebeian garment, he lived in privacy till his death, *labore manuum.* Dugdale. Monast. 1. p. 14, 32. Malmsb. 3. Gale, 313.

and

and the convenience of their burial. To support this, and to provide a subsistence for the English who should dwell there, he imposed the payment of a penny on every family, which was denominated Rome-scot. It was sent to the papal see ¹⁴⁵. Ina expired at Rome.

The mutations of the octarchy for the last century had been generally from an heptarchy to an hexarchy; at the period of Ina's death it was an hexarchy, because Wessex had absorbed Suffex, and Deira and Bernicia were amalgamated into Northumbria. This restless province was then governed by Osric, who in 731 left the kingdom to Ceolwulph, the brother of Kenred, whom he had destroyed ¹⁴⁶. In Mercia, Ethelbald reigned from 716 to 756 ¹⁴⁷. In Essex, which was becoming fast the satellite of Mercia, Suedbred had governed alone since 709, when his brother Offa went to Rome ¹⁴⁸. In Kent, Eadbert had, in

The Anglo
Saxon
kings at
this period.

725,

¹⁴⁵ Matt. West. 265.

¹⁴⁶ Flor. Wig. 269. Malmsh. 21. Bede addressed his history to Ceolwulph, the beginning of whose reign was tempestuous. Bede in his dedication mentions that it was a favourite employment of this prince to study the actions and opinions of former men, and especially of those who had given lustre to the Anglo-Saxon name. He submitted to the tonsure in 737, and Eadbert succeeded. Smith's Bede, p. 224.

¹⁴⁷ Sax. Chron. 51. 59. Bede, l. 5. c. 24. He was a descendant of Wybba, the father of Penda. S. C. 51. 28.

¹⁴⁸ By mistake Langhorn, 281, and Rapin, places Selred on the throne of Essex. Malmsh. 35. Flor. Wig. 273. and Al. Beverl.

725, ascended the throne of Wihtræd, whose laws remain to us ¹⁴⁹. In East Anglia, Aldulphus was succeeded by Selred; on his death, in 747, Al-phuald for a short time inherited the sceptre ¹⁵⁰.

85. led them into the error. We learn from Huntingdon that Selred was king of East Anglia, p. 339. whom the Chronicle of Mailros supports. Suebriht or Sueabryd was king of Essex, and died 738. Mailros, p. 136. Sim. Dunelm. 100. A charta of his, dated 704, is in Smith's Appendix to Bede, p. 749. In another he signs with Sebbi and Sighear, ib. p. 748.

¹⁴⁹ After a reign of thirty-four years and a half Wihtræd died in 725, and left Edilberct, Eadbert, and Alfie, his heirs. Bede, 5. c. 23. Eadbert reigned until 748. Sax. Chron. 56, or 749. Mailros, p. 137. Ethelbert until 760, Sax. Chron. 60, when the surviving brother succeeded, Malmesbury, p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ In the synod at Hatfield in 680 Aldulph was present. This was the seventeenth year of his reign. Bede, l. 4. c. 17. The Chronicle of Mailros accurately places Selred after him, who died 747. Gale Script. 137. Al-phuald, the successor of Selred, died 749. ib. Humbean and Albert divided the kingdom afterwards, ib. Sim. Dunelm. 103. M. West. names them Beorna and Ethelbert, p. 273. Bromton, p. 749. I hope these few last notes correctly state a very troublesome chronology.

CHAP. VIII.

The History of the Oſtarchy, from the Death of Ina to the Acceſſion of Egbert, in the Year 800.

IN 728, Æthelheard, the kinfman of Ina, and a descendant of Cerdic, obtained the crown of Weſt Saxony¹. Oſwald, alſo ſprung from the founder of Weſſex, at firſt oppoſed his pretentions, but diſcovering the inferiority of his forces he abandoned the conteſt². The king deſtroyed Devonſhire, and was extending the ravages into Cornwall, when the Britons vanquiſhed him at

CHAP.
VIII.

Æthelhard
in Weſſex.

¹ Sax. Chron. 52. Flor. Wig. 269. Ran. Higd. Chron. Petri de Burgo, p. 6, gives this date, which Ethelwerd, p. 837, alſo ſanctions. Mat. Weſt. p. 266, has 727, yet the expreſſions of Bede, a contemporary, imply the year 725. Smith's ed. p. 188, note.—A paſſage of Malmsbury, in his Antiq. Glaſt. Eccleſ. p. 312, promiſes to reconcile the contradictions. It ſtates that Ina went twice to Rome. “Eodem anno quo idem rex Romam perſonaliter adiit, privilegium apoſtolico ſignaculo corroboratum in redeundo Glaſtoniam apportavit. Et poſtea iterum cum Ethelburga regina ſua, inſtinctu ejuſdem, Romam abiit.”—Bede may have dated his firſt peregrination, the others his laſt.

² Huntingd. 338. In the charter of Ina, tranſcribed by Malmsbury, Antiq. Glaſt. p. 312, Ethelard ſigns frater reginæ.—Oſwald was the ſon of Ethelbald, of the race of Cerdic, through Cealwin and Cuthwin. Flor. Wig. 269. Sax. Chron. 53. The plural expreſſion of Bede, taken in its natural force, ſeems to expreſs that Ina left his crown to Oſwald as well as Ethelard, “ipſe relictō regno ac juvenioribus commendato.” l. 5. c. 7.

Heilyn.

Ethelbald
in Mercia.

Heilyn. At Garth Maelawch in North Wales, and at Pencoet in South Wales, the Cymry also triumphed³.

The king of Mercia at this period, Ethelbald, was a man of elegant stature, a powerful frame, a warlike and imperious spirit; persecuted in his youth by the king he had succeeded, and to whom he had been dangerous, he owed his safety to the secrecy of his retreat. Here the pious Guthlac endeavoured to moralise his mind, and in gratitude to the friend of his adversity Ethelbald constructed the monastery of Croyland over his tomb⁴. To annex the pleasant region between the Severn and the Wye to his Mercian territories, he entered Wales with a powerful army at Carno, a mountain near Abergavenny. The Britons checked his progress in a dubious battle⁵.

Wars with
the Welch.

741.

Uniting their forces, the kings of Mercia and Wessex overpowered the Britons, but the death of Ethelheard dissolved the combination⁶. Cuthred his relation succeeded him⁷.

Oppressed

³ Caradoc, p. 16. Wynne's ed.

⁴ Ingulf. p. 2—4. To sustain the stony mass an immense quantity of wooden piles was driven into the marsh, and hard earth was brought in boats nine miles, to assist in making the foundation.

⁵ Caradoc, p. 16.

⁶ Ib. His queen Frythogitha went to Rome in 737. Sax. Chron. p. 54.

⁷ Sax. Chron. 55. The Chronicle of Mailros, a document valuable

Oppressed and exhausted by the incessant hostilities of the Anglo-Saxons, the Welch beheld with satisfaction a dissention between Mercia and Wesssex. Roderic Molwynoc, the leader of the Britons, solicited and effected an alliance with Cuthred. The king of Mercia impetuously invaded the country which he considered as his destined prey; but at Hereford the confederated kings severely punished his aggression⁸.

Cuthred
allies with
the Welch.

The alliance between Wesssex and Wales was of small duration. In the third year of his reign, Cuthred was in arms against the Britons, with Ethelbald assisting him. The great superiority of the Saxon forces obtained a decisive victory. After much plunder the victors retired⁹.

743.

In 748 Cuthred lost his son Cynric in a military sedition¹⁰. Two years afterwards he suppressed a dangerous rebellion of Edelhun, one of his chieftains¹¹.

Suppresses
a rebellion.

ble for its general accuracy, countenances Bede's date of Ethelheard's reign; it says that in 740, after a reign of fourteen years, he died.
⁸ Gale's Rer. Angl. Script. p. 136.

⁹ Caradoc, p. 17.

⁹ Ib. p. 17. Flor. Wig. 272. Sax. Chron. 55. Mailros, p. 136. and Matt. West. 271. date the event in 744.

¹⁰ Sax. Chron. 55. Mailros, 137. Huntingdon, 341. His expression that Ethelbald afflixit eum nunc seditionibus nunc bellis, implies that the insurrection was fostered by Mercia.

¹¹ Hunt. 341. Sax. Chron. 56. Flor. Wig. 273. The extraordinary valour of Edelhun would have conquered the superior numbers of the king, if in the hour of victory a wound had not disabled him.

War be-
tween
Cuthred
and Ethel-
bald.

The thrones of Mercia and Wessex being occupied by two princes of high spirit and ambitious schemes, the discord, which had been long augmenting, at last burst into warlike competition. Cuthred presumed his power to be equal to the struggle, and he disclaimed the intolerable exactions of Ethelbald. In 752, at Burford in Oxfordshire, the rival princes met. Cuthred was assisted by the brave Edelhun, now a willing subject, and Ethelbald displayed the forces of Kent, East Anglia, and Essex, in joint array with his Mercians. Edelhun, advancing beyond his line, rent the golden dragon, the splendid banner of Mercia, and, animated by his intrepidity, the West Saxons poured the shout of battle, and rushed to the charge. A conflict terrible to both armies succeeded; the weapons mingled with incessant ruin, and death was glutted with innumerable victims; each party seemed to have forsworn retreat, and to have resolved on victory. Ambition inflamed the friends of Mercia. The horrors of slavery made Wessex desperate. Slaughter followed the sword of Edelhun, and Ethelbald raged like a resistless fire. Their mutual fury brought the general and the king into personal collision; their angry swords flew on each other with an impatience of revenge; every blow menaced destruction, but the
king

king of Mercia at last discerned the superiority of his antagonist, and preferring safety to glory, he gave to his yet struggling army the first example of a hasty flight ¹².

The event of this conflict rescued Wessex from the yoke of Mercia, and established the foundation of that predominance which was afterwards improved into the conquest of the island. In 753, Cuthred again assailed with success the country of the Welch ¹³. Overpowered by the Saxon hostilities, Roderic Molwynoc abandoned the western districts of Wales, and withdrew into Gwynnez, the government of which he seized in commutation for the territory he had been compelled to concede ¹⁴.

Cuthred
attacks the
Welch.

In 754 Cuthred died, and Sigebyrht succeeded ¹⁵; his reign was short, arrogant, and tyrannical; he perverted the laws to his convenience, or presumptuously violated them. When Cumbra, the noblest of his earls, obeyed the solicitations of the people, and intimated their complaints to the king, he was arbitrarily put

Sigebyrht
succeeds.

¹² Sax. Chron. 56. Flor. Wig. 273. Mailros dates it, as it does the events of this period, a year later, p. 137. Huntingdon has preserved the circumstances of the battle, p. 341.

¹³ Sax. Chron. 56. Mailros, 137.

¹⁴ Caradoc, 17.

¹⁵ Flor. Wig. 273. Sax. Chron. 56. Cant-wara-burh, Canterbury, was burnt this year.

Is deposed,
and Cyne-
wulf
chosen.

to death, and the grievances were multiplied. The intolerable evil occasioned the nobles and the people to assemble; after a careful deliberation, Sigebyrht was deposed from his authority by an unanimous decision, and Cynewulf, a youth of the royal blood, was elected in his place. Deserted by all, the miserable tyrant fled into the wood of Anderida; a swineherd of the murdered Cumbra discovered him in his hiding place, and immediately flew him ¹⁶.

755.
Ethelbald
perishes.

The long reign of Ethelbald, whose power had overwhelmed, at one period, all the other Anglo-Saxon states ¹⁷, terminated in calamity. His defeat by Wessex was never retrieved, and he at last perished by civil insurrection. At Seggeswold the fatal battle ensued, for which he was not prepared, and Bernred, who headed the rebellion, attempted to invest himself with the robes of royalty; but the nomination of Ethelbald was supported by the nobles of Mercia, and the celebrated Offa, descended from Eoppa the brother

Offa made
king.

¹⁶ Hunt. 341, 342. Malmsh. 15. Mailros, 137. Ethelwerd names the place of his death Pryfetesfleodan, p. 838.

¹⁷ Hunt. l. 4. p. 339. Maxima virtute super reges coetaneos perfectus, omnes provincias Angliæ usque ad Humbram flumen cum suis regibus sibi subjectas esse voluit et fecit. In 737 he invaded Northumbria, and overpowered its resistance. Ib. p. 340. Sax. Chr. 54.

of Penda, was placed upon the throne¹⁸. Bernred did not survive the year¹⁹.

We may pause a moment to cast a rapid glance on the dismal regions of Northumbria. Ceolwulph, the patron of Bede, had acceded to the united kingdoms in 731; but so perilous was the regal dignity in this perturbed kingdom, that its charms were, in this king's estimation, outbalanced by the incessant alarms of impending treason. He voluntarily abandoned the disquieting crown, and sought the tranquillity of the cloister in 737²⁰.

¹⁸ Ingulf, p. 5. Mailros, 137. Matt. West. p. 274, apparently misconceiving a passage of Huntingdon, p. 341. erroneously makes Ethelbald to have fallen against Cuthred, whom he represents to have survived him. The Monk of Croyland enables us to rectify the mistake, and is supported by Malmsh. 28. and by the Sax. Chron. p. 56. and Flor. Wig. p. 273, who place the decease of Cuthred a year before Ethelbald's.

¹⁹ That Bernred died this year has been disputed. Malmsh. p. 28. Alur. Beverl. 87. Ingulf. 5. the biographer of Offa, p. 11. Flor. Wig. 274. Ethelward, 839. affirm or imply it. On the other hand, Matt. West. p. 274. Sax. Chron. 59. Bromton, 776. and some others, state Bernred's expulsion only, and Matt. West. 277. makes him to perish by fire in the year 769, after having burnt the town of Catterick. But the Chronicle of Mailros, which, p. 138, mentions Beornred's attempt on the Mercian crown, calls the incendiary of Catterick Earnredus, p. 139. Hence it is not certain that they were the same persons, and if not, the *aufugavit* of the one side is not sufficiently explicit to disprove the death stated on the other.

²⁰ Huntingdon, p. 340, paints strongly the apprehensions of Ceolwulf: "*Ipse horribilibus curis necis, et prodicionis, et multimodæ calamitatis, intus cruciebatur, et animo et corpore decoquebatur.*"

Eadbert succeeded, who endured a victorious invasion of the Mercian Ethelbald²¹, and had the ability to maintain himself in his crown for twenty-one years; but when he also, in 757, assumed the religious life²², the furies of civil murder again broke loose. In the first year of his accession, his son Osulf perished from domestic treachery, and Mol Edelwold ventured to accept the crown. In his third year, his life and honours were fiercely assaulted by one of his leaders, Oswin, whom he slew at Edwinescliffe. At no long interval afterwards the tomb received him, and in 765 Alred, of the race of Ida, was elevated to the crown; in 774 he was driven out, and Ethelred, the son of Moll, was chosen in his stead²³. In his third year this king fraudulently procured the death of two of his generals by the instrumentality of two others. But the hearts of those who can perpetrate murder, cherish few sentiments but the malignant and the ferocious. Such men are maniacs, cunning

²¹ Hunt. p. 340. It was in 737. Sax. Chron. p. 54.

²² Hunt. 342. Sax. Chron. 59. Chron. Petrib. 8. He was the eighth king in England, who within fifty years had relinquished the crown for the cowl. Huntingdon ascribes Eadbert's retreat to the impression made upon his mind by the violent deaths of Ethelbald and Sigebert contrasted with the peaceful exit of Ceolwulph.

²³ Chr. Mailros, 137, 138. Hunt. 342. Sax. Chron. 60, 61. Matt. West. 276. 278;

enough

enough to atchieve their gloomy purposes, but are as incapable of fidelity as of enjoying happiness or prizing virtue. Wise ordination of providence, which never suffers atrocious guilt to produce a permanent prosperity! The treachery of the vicious was eminently displayed at this period in Adelbald and Heardbert. These men obeyed the wishes of Ethelred in destroying the generals whom he disliked. In the very next year they rebelled against himself, destroyed in two successive attacks others of his commanders, and expelled him from his kingdom²⁴. Alfwold, in 779, obtained it; but such was the spirit of the country, that in the following year two chieftains raised an army, seized the king's ealdorman, Beorn, and his justiciary, and burnt them to ashes, because, in the estimation of the rebels, their administration of justice had been too severe²⁵. In 788 Alfwold, to whom a chronicle applies the epithet, *rex innocentium*, was treacherously killed by his patrician Sigan, and Osfred his kinsman acceded. In the next year he was betrayed and driven out, and Ethelred, the son of Moll, was recalled²⁶. But as adversity, though it corrects many dispositions into virtue, yet

²⁴ Mailros, 138. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 779.

²⁵ Mailros, 139. Hunt. 343. Sax. Chr. 62.

²⁶ Mailros, 139. Hunt. 345. Chron. Pet. 10. Sax. Chron. 64.



sometimes only exasperates the stubborn, so it appears to have rather increased than diminished the obduracy of Ethelred. In the year of his restoration he left Eardulf weltering in his blood at the gate of a monastery, and in the following year he dragged Elf and Elwin, the children of Alfwold, from York, and slew them. In 792, Ofred, who had been deposed, attempted to recover the crown; his army deserted him, he fell into the hands of Ethelred, and perished. This prince now endeavoured, by a marriage with the daughter of Offa, to secure his authority, and for this purpose he repudiated his previous wife. But his policy and his murders were equally vain. Whoever by an example of cruelty lessens the public horror at deeds of blood, diminishes his own safety, and gives popularity to his own assassination. In the fourth year of Ethelred's restoration, his subjects, whom he had assisted to brutalize, destroyed him, and set up Osbald. After a reign of twenty-seven days they deposed Osbald, and he wisely withdrew from the sanguinary field of ambition, and obtained security in the cloister²⁷. Eardulf, who had been recovered from his assassination by the charity of the monks, who found him apparently lifeless

²⁷ Mailros, 139.

near their cloister, was recalled from his exile, and crowned in 794. Before four years elapsed, they who had murdered Ethelred revolted from Eardulf, and under their leader Wada endeavoured to destroy him. The sword of the king prevailed, and the rebels fled²⁸. Here for a while we will quit this region of misery and wrong. Happy is the country in which the regal office is not elective, nor the right of succession permitted to be questionable! An hereditary monarchy, though, like all human institutions, it has its inconveniences, yet has not been the contrivance of childish thinkers or half-way politicians; it was the benevolent invention of human wisdom, profiting from the most disastrous experience. No contests have been more baneful to human life and happiness, than those which have sprung from the uncertain right of accession, and from the practicability of attaining power by violence. It was a noble effort of advancing civilization, which strove to annihilate the evil, by accustoming mankind to revere as sacred the laws of hereditary succession. This habit blights ambition

²⁸ Mailros, 140. Huntingdon might well say, "*Gens Anglorum naturaliter dura est et superba, et ideo bellis intestinis incessanter attrita.*" Alcuin displays the angry feelings of Charlemagne at this repetition of ferocity in Northumbria; he styled them *a nation perfidam et perversam, pejorem paganis*. Malmsh. 26.

Traditions
concerni. g
Offa and
his queen.

in the bud, and prevents the implacable passions of civil fury from kindling into life.

On the throne of Mercia, Offa displayed talents, and enjoyed a prosperity which has made his name illustrious. His youth has been fabulously represented as distinguished by a wonderful transformation from a miserable child, afflicted with imperfections in his speech, and the most important senses of the intellect, the sight and hearing, into an elegant frame, adorned with every human accomplishment ²⁹. His monastic panegyrist has also bequeathed to his queen Drida, or Cynedrida, a series of adventures scarcely probable, and which have the aspect of having been invented, in order to impute to her more plausibly the crime which has stained the memory of Offa for ever ³⁰. When he had enjoyed

²⁹ Vita Offæ secundi added to Watts's edition of Matthew Paris, p. 10.—The author of it was some monk of St. Alban's; he makes Offa's real name Pineredus. The name Offa was derived from a king, whom he calls Offa primus, who had similar defects, and a cure as miraculous. His editor believes that this Offa primus never existed but in his page. See his Adversaria prefixed.

³⁰ The account is, that the lady was allied to the French king, but for some crime was adjudged to die. Respect for majesty saved her from the ordeals of iron and fire. She was committed to the chances of the sea in an open boat, with little food; the stormy ocean threw her on the coast of Wales, and she was conducted to Offa. A plaintive story interested his compassion, and he recommended her to the protection of his mother. Her charms or her wiles animated his pity into love, and she became his wife. Vita Offæ, p. 12.

his

his throne many years, he began to covet an augmentation of dominion. Some of his attacks were against the Northumbrians³¹, and in 771 he is recorded to have subdued the Hestingi³². In 774 he invaded Kent, and a horrible slaughter ensued at Otford, in which Offa triumphed, and Kent yielded to the genius of Mercia³³. In 777 he measured his strength with the king of Wessex at Bensington, and established his great power by defeating Cynewulf, and subjecting part of his dominions³⁴.

The conquests of Offa have not been transmitted to us in accurate detail; but the celebrity which he attained, and the blood which his contemporary Alcuin attests him to have shed, imply many warlike exertions³⁵. The preroga-

³¹ Brompton, x Script. p. 776. puts the Northumbri first, but Huntingdon, 343. places them after his other conquests. So Matt. West. 275. and Hoveden, 409.

³² Mailros, p. 138. Hoveden, 403. Sim. Dun. 107.—The situation of these people is contested. Mr. Watts thinks them of Hastings, one of the Cinque Ports. Langhorn, p. 29, believes the word to have meant east men, and to have alluded to the east part of Northumbria.—If I might interpose a conjecture, I would point out Hastingsden, in Lancashire, as the probable place. It has been a considerable town.

³³ Mailros, 138. Sax. Chron. 61. Vit. Offæ, p. 15.

³⁴ Sax. Chron. 61. M. West. 279.

³⁵ Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne, speaking of the immature fate of Offa's son, mentions, that pater suus pro confirmatione regni ejus multum sanguinem effudit. Ap. Malmsh. de Gest. p. 33.

BOOK
II.Charle-
magne,
king of the
Franks.

tives which he exercised confirm the traditions of his power. He founded the abbey at St. Alban's, and the abbey of Bath³⁶, places far beyond the limits of his inherited domains.

About this era a star of transcendant lustre arose in Europe. Charlemagne, the descendant of the majores domus of the Francic kings, succeeded to the crown, which they had wrested from their sovereigns, and obtained an empire which reached from the Tiber to the Elbe³⁷. In setting bounds to the Arab torrent which had overflowed Asia, and seemed about to overwhelm the world, Charlemagne and his ancestor deserve the gratitude of their latest posterity³⁸. As a patron of expiring literature he also claims applause. In other incidents he exhibited that fierce character, of which his age was passionately fond, but which humanity had perpetual reason to lament. This distinguished prince attracted the admiration of Offa, and by frequent

³⁶ Matt. West. 284. Dugdale Monasticon, 1. p. 184. 177. He made several donations of land to the church at Canterbury. Ib. 19. another to Sherborne monastery, 62. Matt. West. p. 283. enumerates twenty-three counties which Offa governed. Amongst these the districts of East Anglia, Essex, and part of Wessex and Northumbria, are recited.

³⁷ Gibbon, 3, 140—144.

³⁸ Malmesbury has remarked this, p. 32. Nisi Dei clementia ingenitum robur Francorum imperatorum animasset, pridem Europam Saraceni subjugassent.

embassies

embassies the Mercian prince endeavoured to excite his attention and his friendship³⁹. We need not accredit all the letters which the credulous or imposing biographer of Offa presents to us as having been transmitted from Charlemagne and his brother to the Anglo-Saxon and his enemies⁴⁰: indeed it is not easy for us to believe that Charlemagne would interfere so far in the concerns of the Saxons, as to command Offa to desist from oppressing the other kingdoms, or if such a command were sent, that he would have made no effort to support the princes, for whose sake he had interfered, when he found his mediation rejected. But one letter of the French king to Offa is unquestionably genuine; in that he promises security to all pilgrims, and his especial protection and legal interference to all commercial adventurers, on their paying the requisite duties; he greets Offa with expressions of friendship, and sends him a belt, an Hungarian sword, and two filken cloaks⁴¹.

A discord of some moment interrupted this amity. All intercourse between the two coun-

³⁹ Malmfb. 32.

⁴⁰ See these in *Vita Offæ secundi*, p. 13—15. Wallingford says justly, "Solent autem de isto Offa multa narrari, quæ etiam reliquimus pro incertis et apocryphis." *Chron.* p. 529.

⁴¹ Malmfb. 32.

His inter-
course with
Offa.

tries

BOOK
II.

Offa's
wars with
the Bri-
tons.

tries was reciprocally interdicted⁴²; but the quarrel is not stated to have lasted long.

The wars of Offa with the Britons were at first to his disadvantage. Some branches of the Cymry penetrated in an incursion into Mercia. Their united attack drove the English from the Severn; they frequently repeated their devastations. Offa obtained an accumulation of the forces of the Anglo-Saxons, and marched into Wales. The Britons, unable to withstand him, quitted the open country between the Severn and the Wye, and withdrew to their mountains. Impregnable among these natural fortresses, they awaited the return of the invaders, and then sallied out in new aggressions. To terminate these wasteful incursions, Offa annexed the eastern regions of Wales, as far as the Wye, to Mercia, planted them with Anglo-Saxons, and separated them from the Britons by an immense trench and rampart, extending from the æstuary of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye⁴³. It was carried through marshes, and over mountains and rivers, for an hundred miles, and was long celebrated

His Dyke.

⁴² Alcuin ap. Malmsh. 32.

⁴³ Caradoc, 19, 20. *Asser de Gestis Elfredi*, 10. *Sim. Dunelm.* p. 118. After these events the princes of Powys moved their royal seat from Pengwern, or Shrewsbury, to Mathraval in Montgomeryshire. Caradoc, 20.

under

under the name of Claudh Offa, or Offa's Dyke⁴⁴. Its remains and direction are yet visible⁴⁵. It was used for ages afterwards as the boundary which determined the confines of England and Wales, a boundary jealously guarded with the most rigorous penalties⁴⁶.

The basest action of Offa was the murder of Ethelbert, king of East Anglia. But while we arraign royalty for the crimes which have disgraced it, we are bound to remark how many have been produced by the propensities of their subjects. Power is an object so grand as to ex-

Offa's
murder of
Ethelbert.

⁴⁴ Lhwyl Comment. Brit. Descript. 42.—Almost all the cities and towns on its eastern side in ton vel ham finientia habent. Ib.

⁴⁵ "It may be seen on Brachy Hill, and near Ryhd av Helig, and Lanterden in Herefordshire, and is continued northwards from Knighton, over a part of Shropshire, into Montgomeryshire, and may be traced over the long mountain, called in Welch Kevn Digolh, to Harden Castle, cross the Severn, and Lhan-Drinio Common. Thence it passes the Vyrnwy again into Shropshire, not far from Oswaldstry. In Denbighshire it is visible along the road between Rhywabon and Wrexham; from whence, being continued through Flintshire, it ends a little below Holywell, where that water falls into the Dee at a place formerly the scite of the castle of Basingwerk." Gibson's Additions to Camden's Radnorshire, p. 587. ed. 1695.

⁴⁶ Jo. Sarisb. Polycrat. in his De nugis curialium, l. 6. p. 184. second side, relates, that the Welch making irruptions, Harold was sent by Edward against them; he pursued them with light armed troops, reached their hills of snows, ravaged all around with great slaughter, and made a law that every Briton who should be found with a weapon on this side of Offa's Dyke should have his right hand cut off.—Camden mentions this law.

cite into activity the most infuriating passions, and while mankind in general reserve their loudest acclamations, not for the best but for the greatest sovereign, they must expect that monarchs will, like themselves, prefer aggrandizement to virtue. Upon our own heads a portion of the guilt must fall, which our applauses contribute to occasion; and while we judge the throne for the vices which have sullied it, we must remember that the lust for authority continues still the tyrant passion of every subject's breast, and that the cottage and the parlour, even yet, will rival the palace in the vices which attend both the attainment and exercise of the domination we covet.

But as the historian assumes the office of reviving the mighty dead, and of passing them before the living world in all the action and circumstance of truth, it is a sacred duty that their awful re-appearance on the great theatre of man be made to contribute some moral tuition to their emulous posterity. If the beatified spirit be invoked to inspire, the blood-stained criminal must be summoned to deter. Let us then not decline the scene of Offa's depravity, but let us also remember and ameliorate our own.

At the close of Offa's reign Ethelbert possessed the crown of East Anglia, a peaceful and intelligent

ligent prince, in the bloom of youth and decent beauty, interesting in his manners, and virtuous in his disposition ⁴⁷. Invited or welcomed by Offa ⁴⁸, he went to Mercia for the purpose of receiving the hand of Etheldritha. His splendid retinue became his own dignity, and was a pleasing homage to the merit of his betrothed. Offa received him with that distinction which was due to the allotted husband of his daughter. The soft bosom of the princess acknowledged the merit of the accomplished Ethelbert, and the sweetest cherub of happiness was about to unite them; but suddenly the bands of love were burst asunder; Ethelbert was assassinated; the father of his beloved was his murderer. Though Offa had pledged his protection, had received the king of East Anglia as his guest, had introduced him to his daughter as her approved husband, and the nuptial feast had begun, Offa procured his assassination ⁴⁹. The favourable moment

⁴⁷ Flor. Wig. 281. Vita Offæ, 23.

⁴⁸ The welcome is affirmed by all. The invitation by Malmshury, 29. and the author of the Life of Offa, p. 23.

⁴⁹ That Offa commanded the murder is expressly asserted by Ethelwerd, 840. Hoveden, 410. Huntingdon, 344. Sax. Chron. 65. Flor. Wig. 281. Malmsh. de Pont. 287. Bromton, 749. Higden, 251. Rad. Dicet. 446. and Asser's Annal. 154. Their uniting evidence does away the paltry attempt of Matt. West. p. 283. and the fabulous monk of St. Alban's, in Vita Offæ, p. 23. who

HISTORY OF THE

ment of annexing East Anglia to Mercia was a temptation which overpowered the feelings of the father and the man. The friends of Ethelbert fled in consternation. The perjured Offa invaded his dominions, and East Anglia was added to his conquests.

Did such a complication of crimes benefit the perpetrator? Before two years elapsed, this man, who for ambition had plunged into the most hopeless guilt, was hurried from his empire to his grave. Remorse, with her never-dying worm, embittered all the interval. His daughter, whom he had wedded to misery the most agonizing, abandoned his court, fled into the marshes of Croyland, and pined away her life in mourning solitude⁵⁰; his queen, the evil counsellor of his ambition, perished miserably⁵¹; the husband

Calamities
of Offa's
family.

want to fix it solely on the queen.—Both these apologists admit that Offa immediately seized East Anglia; and such an action, after such a catastrophe, is among the most forcible evidences of his guilt and its motive.

⁵⁰ Ingulf. 7. Bromton, 752. Vit. Offæ, 24. Offa went to Rome before his death, and extended to his own dominions the liberality of Ina, called Romeſcot. It was with strict truth that the friend of the great Alfred mentions Offa with the epithet “*universis circa se regibus et regionibus finitimis formidolosus rex.*” Asser de Reb. Gest. Elfredi, p. 10.—Alfred in his laws recites Offa as a preceding legislator, whose regulations he had consulted, Wilkins Leges Anglo Sax. 34.

⁵¹ Vit. Offæ, p. 25.—As I observe female signatures to charters of Cynedriſtha regina, I cannot be certain whether all the syllables form the proper name, or whether the first implies queen, as this author asserts.

of

of another of his daughters was cut off in the same year with himself⁵²; the other, who married Brithric, died a martyr to vice and penury the most extreme, scorned and abhorred⁵³; and his son Ecgfrid, who in 794 succeeded him, was permitted to exist only 141 days⁵⁴. The race of Offa disappeared for ever, though his corroded memory has continued to exist. Such are the blessings of a prosperity founded upon vice!

During the reign of Offa, the sceptre of Wessex had been swayed, since 755, by Cynewulf. He warred with the Britons successfully⁵⁵, and met Offa in the disastrous conflict at Bensington. After a reign of many years, in 784, he fell a victim to revenge and desperation. He endeavoured to expel Cyneheard, the brother of the deposed Sigebyrht; a suspicion that he was meditating retaliation occasioned the attempt⁵⁶. Cyneheard determined to prevent the blow; he watched the unguarded moment when the king with a few attendants visited a lady at Merton in Surry; he collected about eighty desperadoes, hastened to the place, and surrounded the cham-

Cynewulf
of Wessex
assassinated.

⁵² Ethelred, the son of Moll.

⁵³ See further, p. 343.

⁵⁴ Bromton, 754. Hunt. 344. Ingulf. 6.

⁵⁵ Flor. Wig. 274. Sax. Chr. 57.

⁵⁶ Matt. West. 280.—This author states, that Cyneheard had been banished.

ber to which the king had retired, before his friends were aware of his danger. The king quitted the apartment, and vigorously defended himself; he beheld Cyneheard, and, rushing forward, severely wounded him; but no courage could prevail against such numbers. Cynewulf was slain. Roused by the clamour of the struggle, his thanes hurried to the conflict. Safety and wealth were offered to them by the assassins; but no bribes could repress their loyal indignation, and they fell nobly by their master's side; one British hostage only escaped, desperately wounded. In the morning the dismal tidings had circulated, and the great officers of the royal household, Ofric the friend, and Weverth the faithful minister of Cynewulf, with their attendants, rode to the town. Cyneheard profusely poured forth his promises and presents if they would assist him to obtain the crown. The disinterested thanes disdained the favours of a murderer, forced an entrance with their battle axes, and a deadly contest ensued. The guilty perished ⁵⁷.

The murderers
punished.

784.
Brihtric
succeeds.

This melancholy catastrophe produced the dignity of Brihtric. He was of the race of

⁵⁷ Sax. Chron. 59, 63. Flor. Wig. 278. Hunt. 343.

Cerdic⁵⁸. In 787 he married Eadburga, the daughter of Offa, and the same year was distinguished as that in which the Danes first landed on the English shore. The gerefa of the place went out to see the strangers, who had arrived with three vessels, and was instantly killed⁵⁹. Their incursion was repeated on other parts of the island.

CHAP.
VIII.

Danes first
land in
England.

The wife of Brihtric, or Beorhtric, is expressed by Asser to have imitated the tyranny of her father, to have hated all to whom her husband was attached, and to have done whatever was odious to mankind. She became familiar with vices the most abhorrent to female nature, whose gentle feelings revolt from deeds of blood, and never perpetrate cruelty till their moral sentiments have been erased. She accused to the king whomsoever her caprice disliked, and thus deprived them of life or power. When he refused the gratification to her malice, the secret poison was her deadly minister.

Vices of
the Queen
Eadburga.

To one youth the king was so attached that her arts were fruitlessly exerted to procure his disgrace. She mingled for him the cup of death.

⁵⁸ Sax. Chron. 63.

⁵⁹ Sax. Chron. 64. Flor. Wig. 289.

BOOK
II.She poisons
Brihtric.

It was the destiny of Brihtric that by accident he should drink the contents. Thus was he punished for his unjust compliances with the malignancy of Eadburga. He expired as well as the youth⁶⁰, and was succeeded by Egbert.

She escapes
to France.

Execrated out of Wesssex, the wretched woman sailed with great treasures to France, and presented herself to Charlemagne. With splendid presents she stood before the throne: "Chuse, Eadburga," said the sagacious king, foreseeing her reply, "chuse which you prefer, me or my son."—"Your son," was her answer, "because he is youngest."—The sarcastic monarch tauntingly assured her, that if she had selected him he should have transferred her to his son, but that as her election had been otherwise, she should have neither. He gave her what he thought better suited her immorality, the habit and discipline of a cloister; but even in this retreat she indulged her depravity, and was turned out of the society. In poverty and miserable vice she dragged on a loathed existence, and at last, at

Her miserable
end.

⁶⁰ Asser relates these incidents from the communications of his illustrious master: "Quod a domino meo Ælfredo Angulsaxonum rege veredico, etiam sæpe mihi referente audiui," p. 10. The Saxon Chronicle mentions Worr as the ealdorman who died with Brihtric, p. 68.

Pavia, accompanied by a little girl, she begged her daily bread⁶¹, and closed an abandoned life by a most deplorable death.

⁶¹ Affer says, he had this fact from many who had seen her : Sicut a multis videntibus eam audivimus quotidie mendicans in Pavia miserabiliter moreretur, p. 12.—In the year 798 London was burnt, with many of its inhabitants. Chron. Petrib. p. 10.

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C H A P. IX.

A View of the State of Europe at the Accession of Egbert.

BOOK
II.

WHEN Egbert attained the crown of Wessex, the most remarkable powers in Europe were the Northmen, the Franks, the Saracens, and the Pope.

The Northmen.

As the Northmen are essentially connected with the next period of our history, we will postpone our review of their situation until we reach the era of their most distinguished activity.

The Franks.

In the beginning of the ninth century the empire of the Franks, produced and sustained by the genius of Charlemagne, almost monopolized the map of Europe. At the close of the fifth century, Clovis laid the foundation of the stupendous edifice. Before his reign, which commenced in 482, the Franks, like the Saxons during the Anglo-Saxon octarchy, had been separated into many independant governments. Clovis, the ruler of the Salian Franks, inherited only the island of the Batavians, and the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras. He surprised his

Clovis.

his age by a display of military energy and conduct, which not only broke the sceptres of every Francic sovereign, but also expelled from Gaul the Roman commander, who had retained Soissons, Rheims, Troyes, Beavais, and Amiens. With that success which superior talents usually command, Clovis extended his dominions, in 493, to the Seine, and in the next year to the Loire. The modern Alsace and Lorraine, with their adjacencies, were conquered from the Alemanni, and after a life of victory, he died in 511, presenting to the astonished world a compact monarchy of power, which from the Rhine reached to the Loire, and even stretched in parts to the Garonne and the Pyrenees¹.

He left this vast territory divided between his four sons, who established the capitals of their different kingdoms at Rheims or Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soissons²; and although these princes and their successors, like all rivals in power, differed between themselves, and experienced va-

Division of
his domi-
nions.

¹ Mascou's History of the Germans, v. 2. p. 3—36. Gibbon, v. 3. p. 559—580. Du Bos Hist. Critiq. v. 1. p. 633. defines the kingdom to which Clovis succeeded, and v. 2. p. 1—255. details his transactions.

² Mascou, 2. p. 38. "After this we meet with the names of "Austrasia and Neustria in the history of the Franks; that part of "the Franconian dominions which was situate eastwards was called "Austrasia, and the western country, as far as the Loire, was "called Neustria, or Neustrasia." Ib.

The empire of the
Franks in
558.

Rise of the
maires de
palais.

rious successes against each other, yet under their governments, whether united or discordant, the dominion of the Franks was on all sides enlarged. In Germany to their victorious sceptre Thuringia; including even Magdeburg, Helmstadt, and the south part of Franconia, and sometimes Bavaria, were subjected. In Gaul they obtained Burgundy, Provence, and whatever the Ostro-Goths had enjoyed between the Alps, the Rhone, and the Mediterranean, with part of Rætia; part of Spain was also wrested from the Visi-Goths³. This enormous empire became united under one master in Clotarius the first, the surviving son of Clovis, in 558⁴. What his children shared, the sword of the second Clotarius compelled again into one monarchy, in the possession of which he died in 628⁵.

After this period the empire of the Franks exhibited the phenomenon of the minister of the crown gradually acquiring an authority, which at last subverted the race of Clovis, and placed a

³ Mascou, 69, 91, 98, 113.—“The Bavarians begin about this time to be famous in the history of the Franks. They extended their dominions in Rætia, and the adjoining part of Noricum, and became one of the principal people that composed the kingdom of Germania.” Ib. 132.

⁴ Mascou, 174. “Who thereupon became far more powerful than Clovis his father.”

⁵ Mascou, 241.

new dynasty on the Francic throne. The sovereigns became dependents on the *maires de palais* their servants; weak princes, civil wars, and minorities, produced the spectacle so unusual in the western world⁶. The great abilities of Pepin, the *maire de palais* of Austrasia in 687, who obtained the title of *dux et princeps Francorum*⁷, and of his son Charles Martel, who deserves our blessings, as the hero selected by providence to save Europe from a Mahomedan yoke⁸, made the usurpations popular among the Franks. He died in 741. His sons divided his authority, but Pepin, the most fortunate or most worthy of the two, obtained the whole authority in 747, when his brother sought the cloister⁹. In 752

Charles
Martel.

His son
Pepin.

⁶ See Mascoü, 242, 249. After Clotarius's death in 670, "the Franks tied Childeric down to certain articles, one of which was, that each kingdom should have a separate *maire de palais* of its own. This is looked upon as the beginning of the great declension of the empire of the Franks; for in the sequel of this history we meet with hardly any other subject than the wars between the *maires de palais*." 263.

⁷ Mascoü, 268. During his administration, "three kings having successively acceded to the throne very young, Pepin had the better opportunity to establish his authority, and the new form of government more firmly." 269.—Pepin constituted his grandson, a child, "*maire de palais* over Neustria and Burgundy, which shews how great his power was, for the *maires de palais* were before chosen by the *grandees* of the nation." 276.

⁸ See the wars and actions of Charles from 717 to 741 in Mascoü, 289—318.

⁹ Mascoü, 318, 329.

his

his nominal sovereign was deposed, and the crown of France was placed on the head of Pepin ¹⁰.

Pepin, the first *maire de palais*, who had ventured on the throne, died in 768. He left two sons, but his eldest, the renowned Charlemagne, soon acquired the united kingdom of the Franks, which for years he laboured to augment with a success achieved by few. His campaigns were almost every where prosperous. In Italy he destroyed the kingdom of the Lombards; after a struggle of thirty-three years he reduced the Saxons; he conquered the prince who assumed the kingdom of Bavaria; he wrested part of Spain from the Saracens, and after a very perilous warfare he subdued the Huns and Avars, the modern Austrians and Hungarians ¹². At length his powerful empire, from east to west, extended from the Ebro to the Vistula or the Elbe, and from north to south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the Eyder ¹³. Possessed of the power which arose from this gigantic dominion, he died in 814 ¹⁴.

¹⁰ Mascou, 332. This very valuable author terminates his learned history with the accession of Pepin. His well selected text is enriched by copious extracts from original authorities in his notes.

¹¹ History of the Empire, by the Sieur Heiss, vol. 1. p. 12—16.

¹² Heiss, 18—39.

¹³ Gibbon, vol. 5. p. 144. Heiss, 42.

¹⁴ Heiss, 55. The inscription on his tomb expressed, "*Qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, et per annos 47 feliciter tenuit, decessit septuagenarius, A. D. 814.*" Eginhart de Vit. p. 12.

In the seventh century a man had arisen in Arabia, gifted with the ability to occasion an awful revolution in the mind and kingdoms of mankind. His disciples assailed society in Asia and Africa with the sword of irresistible enthusiasm. Religion and many governments fell victims to their martial and mental fury. Stimulated by unparalleled success to new enterprise, Europe, the last refuge of Christianity and of knowledge, was menaced by their battalions. In 713 Spain was conquered¹⁵, and the victorious Musa meditated to obtain by his fanatic Saracens the kingdom of the Franks, Italy, and Germany¹⁶. To achieve this monstrous scheme they invaded France in 721, and in 732 seemed about to gratify their ambition, under the valiant Abderame, when Charles Martel fought the battle of the civilized world¹⁷. Six days the fortune of man was in suspense; on the seventh his good genius triumphed; the Arabs experienced a ruinous defeat; they never resumed the conquest of Gaul; but they continued in the occupation of Spain.

Europe saved by Charles Martel.

¹⁵ Gibbon, 373. See the Arabian history of this conquest in the life of Almanzor, by Abulcacim Tariff Abentari, one of the Saracen generals in the expedition. It was published in English from the Spanish version in 1693.

¹⁶ Gibbon, 376.

¹⁷ Gibbon, 405—412.

BOOK
II.Progress of
the papal
power.Its territo-
rial acqui-
sitions.

The papal power demands a momentary glance, because at this period it consummated its separation from the eastern empire¹⁸, established its influence over the kings of Europe by the right which it assumed and exercised of conferring the dignity of emperor, and received from the policy or bounty of Charlemagne great territorial accessions. In the year 800, at the festival of Christmas, Charlemagne received the crown of empire from pope Leo the third, and was hailed as the pious Augustus, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans¹⁹. Charlemagne had already, in 774, confirmed to the pope the gift of his father Pepin. This prince had presented to the Roman pontiff the exarchate of Ravenna, which he had conquered from the Lombards, the marquisate of Ancona, and the cities of Bologna, Mantua, Cesenna, Modena, Regio, Parma, Piacenza, Ferrara, and Farnefe. Charlemagne ratified and secured to the pope this splendid acquisition, and added the island of Corfu, the river of Genoa, the Upper Tuscany, the state of Urbino, and some other places²⁰. Thus the bishop of Rome was exalted from a spiritual dominion to territorial sovereignty.

¹⁸ Gibbon, 132.¹⁹ Gibbon, 135. Heiss, 40.²⁰ Heiss, 19.

Power and revenue accrued to him from a domestic principality; he came to rank among temporal princes, and his authority continued to augment until it endangered the permanency of every potentate.

Thus all the western regions of Europe were, in the year 800, possessed by four unequal states, but all of prime importance. The day of the Saracens had passed. The preponderance of Charlemagne and his successors effectually confined them to Spain; but they had been terrible, and if their neighbours had been weak would still have been the lords of the world. Charlemagne was now the colossus which was annihilating the independance of Europe; but his grandeur was the result of his personal talents, and faded after his departure, until at length Germany was separated from France. The Northmen soon burst in terror from their lakes and marshes, and during the ninth century the infant civilization of Europe was trembling on the precipice of destruction. With slower but as fatal success the papal empire extended its poisoning influence over the noblest states of the western world; knowledge and religion withered under its debasing sway, and a long night of ignorance and vice, perpetuated by its tyranny, enveloped the human race.

State of
Western
Europe in
800.

HISTORY OF THE

CHAP. X.

The Reign of Egbert.

BOOK

II.

Egbert's
anecdotes.

EGBERT was the son of Alcmund or Ethelmund, the great grandson of Inigils, the brother of Ina. Alcmund was left early in his mother's care, and his sisters were sent into Saxony for their education, where they became religious²¹. Egbert received the instruction of the times, and his talents gave splendor to his youth. When Brihtric became king of Wessex, the popularity of Egbert excited his mistrust, and he projected his destruction. To avert the danger Egbert fled to Offa. The messengers of Brihtric followed him, and to debar the young exile from the friendship of Mercia, they solicited for their master the daughter of Offa. Eadburga was betrothed to Brihtric, and Egbert sailed to the coast of France²².

It

²¹ Wallingford, 3 Gale, 531. The Saxon Chronicle makes the father of Egbert king of Kent, p. 63. and Higden intitles him sub reguli, p. 292. So Rudborne. Carte gives him a territory in the eastern extremity of West Saxony, but his authorities do not say as much, p. 282.

²² Malm's. l. 2. c. 1. p. 36. There is some difficulty about Egbert's residence in France. The Saxon Chronicle, 73. Flor. Wig. p. 291. Huntingd. 344, and Hoveden, 411: express a period of

It was after 787 that he left Offa for the court of Charlemagne. This indefatigable monarch, whom Europe every year beheld in a new part of its varied climate, pouring his disciplined warriors on the powerful savage tribes, which swarmed between the German Ocean and the mouth of the Danube, in the year 788 marched against the Slavonians on the Baltic. Scarce had they submitted but the Huns were invading him, and he was also summoned towards Naples by the hostilities of the eastern empire²³. It may be presumed that a young prince of enterprize, reduced to solicit an asylum, would not have neglected to accompany Charlemagne in his campaigns, as the most certain method of interesting and deserving his favour. To trace the future expeditions of this fortunate emperor is, therefore, to exhibit the schools in which the mind of Egbert was disciplined, and those military talents acquired, which destroyed the independence of the surviving governments of the Anglo-Saxon octarchy.

of three years only, *ibi per triennium mansit*. Malmesbury implies that he went thither from Offa's court, when Brihtic sought the Mercian alliance. It is clear that the other chronicles are mistaken, for how could Offa and Brihtic exile Egbert into France three years only before his accession, when Offa died six years previous to this period—perhaps the three should be thirteen years.

²³ Heifs, l, i. c. 2. p. 30—32.

In 790, the Avarians and Huns, the modern Austrians and Hungarians, maintained a war with Charlemagne, in which his safety was endangered, and torrents of blood effused. With two armies, more powerful than any which he had yet thought it needful to use, he marched in two divisions down the Danube; for eight years the terrible conflict lasted, and we may tremble to read that so many battles were fought, and so desperate was the struggle, that the provinces were laid intirely desolate, and in many parts nothing remained of the towns and villages which had flourished there but the ashes and the ground plot; the inhabitants, even the women and children, had disappeared. What shall we feel, when we read that these people, before this war, had been the most happy and formidable of any nation in the world, and that they had preserved themselves in peace and prosperity above two hundred years²⁴?

While this war lasted, Charlemagne had also to recover Friesland and Lower Saxony from the invasion of Godefrid king of Denmark, to hasten into Italy to crush the conspiracy of his illegitimate son, to expel the Saracens from Provence, to meet the council of bishops at Francfort, and

²⁴ Heifs, p. 33.

to subdue the insurrection of the Saxons, who reflected with abhorrence on the yoke which his power had imposed²⁵. Here again we are shocked at the barbarity of war, and of its conquerors. He resolved to abandon all Saxony to the sword, because of its revolt, and to extirpate the most mutinous of these barbarians. The fate of 30,000 men evinced the horrible execution of his determination²⁶.

On his return from this expedition, he passed his winter at Aix la Chapelle, a place with which he was much delighted. In the subsequent years we find him at Paderborn, afterwards traversing the French coasts, visiting the diet at Mentz, and in the year 800, marching into Italy through Suabia and Friuli²⁷.

795.

It was in this year that Egbert was summoned out of the French empire to the throne of England. He was the only descendant of Cerdic that was in existence²⁸, and his accession was highly popular in Wessex.

800.

Egbert returns to England.

At the period of his accession the island, though nominally under an hexarchy, was fast verging into a triarchy. The petty powers of

State of England.

²⁵ Heifs, 35—37.

²⁶ Heifs, 37.

²⁷ Heifs, 38, 39.

²⁸ Malmibury, t. i. c. 2. p. 16.

Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, had already become the satellites of Mercia, and moved obedient to its influence and subordinate to its power; Northumbria, occupied in producing and destroying a succession of usurpers and turbulent nobles, had ceased to molest her neighbours; Wessex had enlarged herself by the incorporation of Sussex; its population and wealth multiplied under the peaceable administration of Brihtric, and a series of able sovereigns had reduced the nobles of the land to an useful subordination. The force of Wessex was therefore a well organized concentration of various powers, ready to operate with all their energies for any great purpose to which they should be summoned.

At this crisis Egbert acceded. The friendship of Charlemagne had educated him to the arts of empire²⁹. From his example he learnt the difficult policy of governing with vigour and prudence the discordant members of an immense body-politic. The character of Charlemagne was a mixture of cultivated intellect and barba-

²⁹ Malmesbury says of the Franks, *est enim gens illa et exercitatione virium et comitate morum cunctarum occidentalium facile princeps*; he mentions that Egbert regnandi disciplinam a Francis acciperet, and that with them *aciem mentis expediret et mores longe a gentilitia barbarie alienos indueret.*" l. 2. c. 2. p. 36.

rism, which was likely to have excited and improved the mind of Egbert; and in the wars of the Franks he must have imbibed a military knowledge decisively superior to that of every Anglo-Saxon competitor.

His mild government completed the attachment of his subjects, and the tranquillity of the first years of his reign fostered his growing strength.

For the first nineteen years of Egbert's reign Kenwulf continued to sit on the throne of Mercia. He had subdued Kent, and ruled Mercia and its appendages with an ability which suspended the ambition of the West Saxon king. Kenwulf is mentioned with applause for his peacefulness, piety, and justice³⁰. His ability was known to his contemporaries, and secured to him the repose he loved.

Kenwulf
in Mercia,

It was on the inferior Britons of the west that Egbert first tried the efficacy of his military strength; he penetrated successfully into Devonshire and Cornwall; resistance melted away before him; he ravaged unchecked from the east to the west³¹.

813.
Egbert de-
feats the
Western
Britons.

³⁰ Ingulphi Hist. p. 6. rex justissimus, Chron. Pet. 10.

³¹ Sax. Chron. 69. Flor. Wigorn. 285. Malm. 36. Ethelw. 840. In the year 816, the English school at Rome was burnt, Flor. Wig. 285.

BOOK
II.819.
Kenwulf's
death.Rivalry of
Wessex and
Mercia.

The high road to the temple of greatness was laid open before Egbert by the death of Kenwulf³². His wisdom had completed the efforts of Offa for the power of Mercia; and had his sceptre fallen into a hand of equal energy, Wessex might not at this period have risen lord of the ascendant.

But to such a degree of strength had these rival states respectively attained, that it was obvious a furious competition must soon arise for one to be mistress of the whole. The humiliation of the other powers increased the rivalry of these; two neighbouring co-equals in power cannot long exist in amity together, because man is too much a being of hope and envy, and too little appreciates tranquillity and content. In the calm sunshine of nature he wearies with lassitude, and courts the perturbed atmosphere which will rouse him to exertion and agitate him with expectancy. By its political power Mercia promised to win in the approaching race of supremacy; but Wessex was rising so fast into importance, that nothing less than a continuation of able government in Mercia could suppress its competition. Both had reached that point of power, that the state which first was disquieted by the

³² Ingulph. 7.

evils of a weak administration would inevitably succumb under the pressure of the other.

CHAP.
X.

Egbert and Kenwulf governed their several kingdoms with such steady capacity, that during their co-existence the balance was not determined. If Kenwulf had been the survivor, and minors or incapable men, harassed by factious chiefs, had succeeded to the throne of Egbert, then Mercia would have acquired the monarchy of England; but the coveted distinction was allotted to Wessex, and the causes powerful enough to reduce a nation were suffered to operate in Mercia.

Kenwulf left his son Kinelm, a child of seven years of age, the heir to his crown, under the tutelage of his marriageable daughters. The eldest of these, Wendreda, was of that evil-brooding disposition, which suffers its selfish discontent to gather till reason and virtue are overpowered by it; the other was of milder nature, but bowed to the sterner genius of her sister. Wendreda, hopeful of acquiring a permanent authority, resolved on her brother's death. He was carried by his foster father one evening into a wood, and there murdered. Her crime failed to profit her. Her uncle Ceolwulf took the crown;

819.
The son of
Kenwulf
murdered.

Ceolwulf.

BOOK
II.Beornulf
a weak
prince,

crown; in his second year he was driven out by Beornulf.³³

These distractions checked Mercia in her career of dignity. Beornulf became by his usurpation rather the king of his party than sovereign of the united population of his territory. He had acquired his throne by violence, yet if his skill had been equal to the crisis, he might have consolidated his power, and awed discontent into obedience, or soothed it into attachment; but he is characterized as a fool, rich and powerful, though of no regal ancestry³⁴. With giddy precipitancy he plunged into a personal competition with Egbert, and linked the fate of Mercia in his own.

823.
Battle in
Cornwall.

This year was distinguished by a furious battle at Gafelford, or Camelford, in Cornwall³⁵. The men of Devonshire are particularized as the combatants who conflicted with the Cornish Britons. The pieces of armour, rings, and brass furniture for horses, dug up here, and the local tradition of a bloody battle, may be collateral evidences of this struggle³⁶; but they are also claimed by Leland

³³ Ingulph. 7. Flor. Wig. 286.

³⁴ Ingulph. 7. A Bernulpho quodam fatuoso et divitiis ac potentia pollenti, in nullo que lineam regalem contingente expulsus est.

³⁵ Sax. Chron. 70. Flor. Wig. 287. Caradoc Lanc. 25.

³⁶ Carte, p. 284, attributes these fragments to this battle.

as the attestations of the celebrated fight of Cam-
lan, which he places on this spot³⁷. Whether
Egbert or his generals commanded against the
Britons is not decisively ascertained.

It was in this year that Beornulf rushed to
that collision which the wary Egbert seems to
have been reluctant to hazard. The twenty-
three years forbearance of the West Saxon prince
indicates no inordinate ambition, but rather im-
plies a contented moderation and a prudent
diffidence. The hostilities of Beornwulf roused
him into activity, and then the pupil of Charle-
magne was displayed. At Wilton the competi-
tion between the two states was brought to
issue³⁸. The superior strength of the arm of
Mercia was balanced by the excelling mind of
Egbert. A furious battle ensued, which the rival
armies maintained with great obstinacy, but at
length the important laurel, rich with the pearls
of sovereign dominion, was awarded to Egbert.
He conquered with great slaughter, and Beorn-
wulf fled in irremediable confusion.

Beornulf
makes war
on Egbert.

Egbert's
victory.

Egbert derived from his victory all the conse-
quences of which it was so fruitful; he beheld
the favouring moment for breaking the power of

Its conse-
quences.

³⁷ See Camden's Cornwall.

³⁸ Sax. Chron. 70. Flor. Wig. 287. Huntingd. 344.

BOOK
II.

Mercia for ever, and he seized it with avidity. He dispatched his son Ethelwulph, and the warlike bishop and able statesman Ealstan, with a competent army into Kent, who drove the royal dependant of Mercia over the Thames³⁹, and then Kent, and its neighbour Essex, became for ever united to the crown of Wessex.

Egbert
aspires to
greater
conquests.

Egbert now towered in the island with substantial dignity; ambition now may have fluttered before him in her gaudiest plumes, and he may have followed where she led; his passive enjoyment of his power was, from this period, exchanged for an active emulation of the toils and fame of Charlemagne; he aimed at conquest, and he obtained what he sought.

Incites the
East Ang-
lians
against
Mercia.

He pursued his scheme of aggrandizement with careful policy. He forebore to invade Mercia, though it had been defeated; it abounded yet with courageous soldiery, and Egbert seems to have been cautious of putting too much into hazard. Instead of attacking Beornwulf in Mercia, Egbert fomented the discontent with which the East Anglians endured the Mercian yoke; by promises of support he excited East Anglia to revolt, and thus engaged his rival in a new warfare⁴⁰.

³⁹ Sax. Chron. 70. Wallingf. 534. Hunt. 345. Flor. Wig. 287.

⁴⁰ Ingulph. 7.

Beornwulf went in anger to chastise the East Anglians. His incapacity again disgraced him with a defeat, and he fell in the contest ⁴¹.

CHAP.
X.

825.

He was succeeded by Ludecan, who again led the forces of Mercia against East Anglia; but he was as unfortunate as his predecessor, and found a grave where he had hoped for empire. Wiglaf the governor, or prince, of Worcester-shire succeeded ⁴².

Mercia's
disasters.

The views of Egbert were now accomplished. An important passage of Ingulfus pours light on the policy of Egbert. He says that the two usurpers, Beornwulf and Ludecan, by their imprudence destroyed all the military strength of Mercia, which had been most numerous and victorious ⁴³. For this event Egbert seems to have waited, and as soon as he found that Mercia had exhausted herself against others, his caution was thrown aside, and his officers marched his army immediately into Mercia. Wiglaf, attacked before he could recruit his army, fled from his new dominion, and concealed himself from the eager searches of Egbert in the monastery of

Egbert
invades
Mercia.

⁴¹ Ingulf. 7. Chron. Petr. 12.

⁴² Ib.

⁴³ Regno vehementer oppresso, totam militiam ejus, quæ quondam plurima extiterat, et victoriosissima, sua imprudentia perdidit. Ing. 7.

Croyland.

BOOK
II.

Croyland. That interesting character Ethelburga, widowed in the hour of the marriage feast by her father's crime, sheltered the fugitive prince in her respected cell⁴⁴. How painfully must she have moralized on the deed which had destroyed her happiness, and had contributed in its consequences to the ruin of Mercia?

827.
Wiglaf
submits to
him.

The negotiations of the venerable abbot of Croyland preserved Wiglaf, but completed the inevitable degradation of Mercia. Egbert agreed to the king's continuing on the throne as the tributary vassal of Wessex. The expressions of Wiglaf in the charter of Croyland, six years after this pacification, are, "I have procured it to be confirmed by my lord Egbert, king of Wessex, and his son."—"In the presence of my lords Egbert and Athelwulph⁴⁵."—The payment of the tribute is attested by Ingulf⁴⁶. The submission of East Anglia was consequential to the humiliation of Mercia.

Egbert in-
vades
Northum-
bria.

Northumbria had not yet felt his power. Eardulf, whom we last reigning at the beginning of this the ninth century, had assumed a hostile

⁴⁴ Ing. 7.

⁴⁵ Per dominum meum Egbertum regem West Saxonie et Athelwulphum filium ejus illud obtinui confirmari. Ing. 9.—In presentia dominorum meorum Egberti regis West Saxonie et Athelwulphi filii ejus. Ing. 10.

⁴⁶ Promissa tributi annualis pensione. Ing. 8.

posture against Kenulph of Mercia, but the clergy interposed, and procured a reconciliation⁴⁷. In 806, Eardulf was driven out, and the province continued without a king for a long time⁴⁸. Alfwold is mentioned afterwards as a fleeting monarch of two years, and Eanred, the son of Eardulph, then succeeded for thirty-three years, and transmitted it to his son⁴⁹. It was against Eanred that Egbert marched after the conquest of Mercia. The Northumbrian prince was too prudent to engage his turbulent and exhausted kingdom in a war with Egbert; he felt the imperious necessity, and obeyed it. At Dore, beyond the Humber, he met the West Saxon prince, and amicably acknowledged his superiority⁵⁰.

Its submission.

The Anglo-Saxon octarchy thus subdued, he turned the tide of conquest towards Wales. With a numerous army he penetrated to Snowdon, the Parnassus of the Cambrian bards. The genius of North Wales bowed before his battalions, and admitted them into Denbighland and Anglesey⁵¹.

828.

Wales
over-run.

The

⁴⁷ Sim. Dunelm. de Gestis Reg. Angl. 117.

⁴⁸ Chron. Mailros, 141.

⁴⁹ Sim. Dunelm. de Dunel. Eccles. 13.

⁵⁰ Sax. Chron. 71. Flor. Wigorn. 288.

⁵¹ Sax. Chron. 72. Chron. Pet. 12. Hunting. 345. Ethelwe d,

BOOK

II.

The Danes
invade
Egbert.

The only enemy that baffled the genius of Egbert was the Danes. As we propose to be particular in our researches into the history of this people in our next part, we shall only state with hasty conciseness here, that in 832 they ravaged the isle of Sheppey, and in 833 defeated Egbert at Charmouth in Dorsetshire⁵¹. This disaster, perhaps, occasioned that council which Wiglaf, in his charter to Croyland, mentions to have met this year at London, for the purpose of deliberating on the Danish depredations⁵². In 835, the efficacy of the measures adopted by the council appeared at Hengston Hill, in Cornwall. The Danes landed in this part of the island, and the Cornish Britons, from fear or voluntary policy, entered into offensive alliance with them against Egbert. The king of Wessex defeated their combined forces with great slaughter⁵³.

After

841. Caradoc makes the progress of Egbert in North Wales to precede his conquest of Bernulph, p. 24. but the Saxon account seems the most probable.

⁵² Sax. Chron. 72.

⁵³ Ingulph. 10. (Ubi omnes congregati fuimus pro concilio capiēdo contra Danicos piratas littora Angliæ assidue infestantes.)

⁵⁴ Sax. Chron. 72. Caradoc adds, that Egbert, incensed against the Welch, besieged their *Caer Lheon* or *Dhyfrdwy*, or Chester, took it, and among other tokens of his indignation, he caused the brazen effigies of Cadwallon, king of Britain, to be pulled down and defaced, and forbad their restoration on pain of death. He also, at the instigation of his wife Redburga, who bore an inveterate malice

After a reign of prosperity seldom rivalled, Egbert died full of glory in 836⁵⁵. The tale that he assembled the Anglo-Saxon states, and abolishing the distinction of Saxons and Angles, and all provincial appellations, commanded the island to be called England, and procured himself to be crowned and intitled king of England, is not worthy of our belief⁵⁶.

malice to the Welch, commanded all that derived their extraction from British blood to depart with all their effects out of his kingdom within six months on pain of death, p. 27.—I suppose these brazen effigies of Cadwallon at Chester are the same which Jeffry, with his usual veracity, transported to London, l. 12. c. 13.

⁵⁵ Sax. Chron. 73. Flor. Wig. 291. Higden, 253. Chron. Petri de Burgo, 13. The Chronicle of Mailros says in 838, p. 142. The Asserii Annales, 839, p. 155. Wallingford, 837, p. 531.

⁵⁶ I was induced, as early as I began this work, to doubt this popular tale, by observing these circumstances: 1. That although if such an act had taken place, the legal title of Egbert and his successors would have been rex Anglorum, yet that neither he nor his successors, till after Alfred, ever used it. In his charters Ethelwulph always signs king of the West Saxons; so do his three sons; so Alfred, and in his will he says, I, Alfred, of the West Saxons, king. Asser, the friend of this king, styles Ethelwulph and his three sons always kings of the West Saxons, p. 6—21. It is with Alfred that he begins to use a different title; he names him Angul. Saxonum rex.—2. Egbert did not establish the monarchy of England: he asserted the predominance of Wessex over the others, whom he defeated or made tributary, but he did not incorporate East Anglia, Mercia, nor Northumbria. It was the Danish sword which destroyed these kingdoms, and thereby made Alfred the monarcha of the Saxons; accordingly, Alfred is called primus monarcha by some; but in strict truth, the monarchy of England must not even be attributed to him, because a Danish sovereign divided the island with him. It was Athelstan who destroyed the Danish sovereignty, who may, with the greatest propriety, be intitled primus monarcha Anglorum,

BOOK
II.

glorum, and accordingly Alured of Beverly so intimates him, p. 93. Totius Angliæ monarchiam primus Anglo-Saxonum obtinuit Edelfanus.—3. The important incidents of the coronation and change of name are not mentioned by the best writers. The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, Aſſer, Ethelwerd, Ingulph, Huntingdon, Hoveden, Brompton, Malmſbury, the Chronicle of Mailros, of Peterborough, and Matthew of Weſtminſter, ſay nothing about it.—4. By whom then is it ſtated? I find it in Higden, as quoted from a (Will.) The words are, after a ſtatement of the battle of Elendun, and the capture of Cheſter, “deinde convocatis proceribus apud Wintoniam coronatus eſt rex totius Britannię, ubi edictum fecit ut ab illo die omnes Saxones et Juti vocarentur Angli, et Britannia Anglia vocaretur,” p. 252. I find it alſo nearly in the ſame words in Wynne’s Caradoc: “The Saxon heptarchy was now become one kingdom, and Egbert ſole monarch of all the countries that the Saxons poſſeſſed in Britain, which name he ordered ſhould be changed to England, his people to be called Engliſhmen, and the language Engliſh,” p. 25. It is alſo intimated in Radulf de Diceto: “Qui prius vocati ſunt reges Weſt-Saxonum abhinc vocandi ſunt reges Anglorum,” p. 449. He accordingly ſtyles Ethelwulf, what he never ſtyled himſelf, “rex Anglorum.” Theſe authors are not adequate authority on a ſubject, of which the beſt annaliſts ſay nothing.

APPENDIX.

THE Author has intimated in the note to page 18, that the relation between the Gaelic and the ancient British languages would be considered in the Appendix; but on reviewing his observations on these languages, he perceives that they have extended to a length, and have embraced subjects, which make them an improper addition to the present work; he therefore begs permission to omit them, and to state shortly, that the affinity much resembles that which prevails between the German, the Saxon, and the Icelandic: no native accustomed only to the one can be understood by a person who speaks only the other; but whoever examines them will find that they spring from the same parent language. This holds true of the Celtic languages as well as of the Gothic.

NOTES ON ARTHUR.

Note

a.

His father, Uther Pendragon, loved the wife of the duke of Cornwall. The household, or the lady, were incorruptible, and Merlin had to enchant the adulterous Uther into the external figure of the husband, before the Pendragon's passion could be gratified. Arthur was the offspring of the British Jupiter and the Cornish Alcmena. Jeffry's History, l. 8. c. 19.—The opinion of Carte, p. 201. that there never was such a man as Uther, is contrary to the Welch Triades, which mention him. See them in Jones's Ancient Relics of the Welch Bard, p. 79 and 10.

Note

b.

See the extravagant list of conquests given to Arthur by the British History, l. 9. and 10. Drayton might well say, after reading Jeffry;

Out of whose ancient race that warlike Arthur sprong,

Whose most renowned acts shall founded be as long

As Britain's name is known, which spread themselves so wide,

As scarcely hath for fame left any room beside.

Polyolb. Song 8. p. 119.

Alanus de Insulis not only describes him as *toto orbe famosum*, but seriously makes him to have conquered from the Icy Ocean to the Mediterranean, p. 16.

Note

c.

L'histoire fabuleuse d'Artus plut meme si fort a nos romanciers par la magie qu'elle presentait sans cesse, melée avec les prouesses de chevalerie, que beaucoup d'entre eux l'adopterent, et choisirent pour heros de leurs poemes quelque paladin supposé du conquerant Breton. Le Grand, Fables du 12 Siecle, Preface, p. 31.

It may be curious to give a list of the principal romances

§

written

written about Arthur and his knights, from Dutens's Tables Genealogiques des Heros des Romans.

Le Devise, leggi ed armi de Cavalieri della tavola rotonda par Alamani nella prefazione di Girone il cortese. 4°.

Histoire du St. Graal, ou il est traité de Lancelot du Lac, du Roi Artus, &c.

Histoire du Roi Artus, in 4°, Paris, 1502, 1543.

Histoire de Merlin de la Table Ronde, in 4°, Paris.

Les grands Chroniques de Bretagne depuis le Roi Brutus jusqu'a Cadvaladras, Caen, fol. 1518.

Histoire de Perceforet, Roi de la Grande Bretagne, fol. Paris, 1528—31 3 vols.

Le Roman de Lancelot du Lac, &c. Paris, 1494. fol. 1513, 4°. 1533. 4°.

Girone il cortese di Luigi Alamanni, Ven. 1549, 4°. Fir. 1570, 4°.

Le Roman de Tristan le Leonnois, plusieurs editions.

Ysaye le triste, fils naturel de Tristan le Leonnois.

Histoire de Perceval le Gallois, Chevalier de la Table Ronde, qui acheva les Avantures du St. Greal.

Les Faits et Gestes du Roi Meliadus de Leonnois, Pere de Tristan, Paris, 1532, fol. 1584, 4°.

The Welch have preserved about Arthur and his knights, besides Myrrdhn, Llywarç, Talieffin, and others, who casually mention him,

Englynion yr Eryr inter Arthurum et Aquilam Carmen.

Lhuyd Archeol. p. 256.

Kronikl byû in Hanefyn Hen. Ib.

Lhyvyr y Greal de Arthuro et militibus suis. Ib. 262.

Y Trioedh Liber Triadum. Ib. 264.

Ystoriæ Saint Greal. Ib. 265.

Ystori Gereint val Erbyn. Ib. On this warrior Llywarç has left us an elegy.

Mr. Owen, in his Dictionary, quotes Ymz Trystan a Gwalçmai. Ymz Arthur a Eliwlod. Ymz Gwalçmai a Trystan. Ymz Arthur a Gwynhyfar.

The tales of the minstrels, which relate to Arthur and his knights, are many. Le Grande has modernized some pleasing specimens in the first volume of his Fabliaux. M. S. Palaye has brought others into notice.

Note
d.

Messenius sanctions the flights of Jeffry so far as to admit Arthur to have conquered Scandinavia in 488. 1 Scondia illust. 59. Some Danish writers also insert his actions.

Note
e.

"Caerlleon was adorned with 200 schools of teachers and wise men, who were acquainted with the course of the stars, and the various other sciences." Gr. Ab. Arthur. See Jeffry of Monmouth, l. 9. c. 12. He is also said to have patronized Cambridge. See Usher Primord. c. 4. p. 153.

Note
f.

Jeffry, after making him conquer every body in England and Scotland, sends him to subdue Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orkneys, Norway, Dacia, Aquitain, and Gaul, l. 9. c. 10. But even this was not sufficient for his glory; so he creates one Lucius Tiberius a procurator of the Roman commonwealth, l. 9. c. 15. and lest the defeat of a Roman general should be too poor a wreath, he enlists in his service the kings of the Grecians, Africans, Spain, Parthians, Medes, Libyans, Phrygians, Ituræans, Egyptians, Babylonians, Bythynians, Syrians, Bœotians, and Cretans, l. 10. c. 1; but all these are conquered and killed as easily as they were assembled. Langhorn Chron. p. 97. intimates a possibility that the expedition of Riothamus and his 12,000 Britons has some allusion to Arthur's exploits in Gaul. It is not, however, very vigorously claimed, because it ended miserably.

"Artus

APPENDIX.

373

“ Artus possédait une épée magique nommée Escalibor,
 “ a laquelle nulle armé ne pouvait résister.” *Le Grand Fa-*
bliaux, p. 14. Jeffry's translator names it Caliburno, l. 9.
 c. 4. The Welch author has Caledvwlç. Owen, voc.
 Aerwa.

Note
g.

“ The temper of his sword the tried escalaboure,
 “ The bigness and the length of Rone his noble speare,
 “ With Pridwin his great shield.” Drayton, p. 61.

Nennius, p. 114. Et nemo eos prostravit nisi ipse solus.
 Jeffry, with unusual modesty, has reduced the number to 470,
 l. 9. c. 4. The Welch book says, “ and Arthur rested not
 “ from that assault till he had slain with his Caledvwlç himself
 “ 460 men.” Owen ubi supra.

Note
h.

MERLIN.

Merlin is called by the Britons Myrzin Emrys. He was
 the enchanter of Uther Pendragon, and one of the three
 principal bards of the isle of Britain, according to the Triades.
 Jones's Relics, 10. and 79. His birth, actions, and prophe-
 cies may be seen in *Le Roman de Merlin*, and, in Jeffry's
British History, l. 6. c. 18, 19. l. 7. and l. 8. c. 19. His
 prophecies, or at least those allegories which the Welch pub-
 lished as his prophecies, were at one time in high repute
 through Europe. A very learned man, Alanus de Insulis,
 wrote an historical commentary upon them in the twelfth cen-
 tury, which was republished at Frankfort 1603.

Note
i.

“ Ce Merlin naquit en Angleterre du commerce d'un
 demon avec une fille vierge; selon nos romanciers il servit
 long tems, par sa science magique, le roi Artus, mais enfin il
 perit par cette science même; car s'étant choisi pour mai-
 tresse la jeune Viviane, celle ci sous pretexte de n'avoir rien
 à craindre de ses parens, demanda au magicien deux enchan-

temens avec lesquels elle put les tenir endormis ou infermés autant qu'il lui plairait. Merlin les lui enseigne. Elle se servit du premier pour l'endormir lui même toutes les fois qu'il venait coucher avec elle, et par cette adresse fut ainsi se conserver toujours pure. Elle employa le second pour l'enfermer dans une foret (d'autres manuscrits portent dans un tombeau) ou il mourut. Les romanciers ajoutent que son esprit y subsistait toujours, et que de tems en tems ou y entendait sa voix. Le Grand, 74.

Others make the lady an actual fairy. Drayton's *Prolusion* is, that he was preparing to wall Caermarthen with brags, and had set his fiends to work upon it.

- " When walking with his fay her to the rock he brought,
- " In which he oft before his nigromancies wrought,
- " And going in thereat his magiques to have shewn,
- " She stopt the cavern's mouth with an enchanted stone,
- " Whose cunning strongly crost amaz'd while he did stand,
- " She captive him convey'd into the fairie land.
- " —The labouring spirits to rocks by fetters bound,
- " With bellowes rumbling groans and hammers thundring sound,
- " A feareful horrid din still in the earth doe keepe,
- " Their master to awake, suppos'd by them to sleepe."

4th Song, p. 62.

In the romance of Tristran she is thus mentioned: " At some distance from the shore our travellers entered a large forest, and by the sound of a bell at a distance they were guided to an hermit's cell, who informed them that they were now in the forest of Arnautes, where the Lady of the Lake, requiting with the basest ingratitude the love of Merlin, who had taught her all his secrets, had seized the sage in his sleep, enchanted, and confined him in a tomb impervious to those who might have attempted his rescue, leaving him only the freedom of speech." *History of Tristan*, p. 239.

A ro-

A romance of the middle age thus paints Merlin: "In crossing a forest the knights, Clares, Gauvain, Yvain, and Carados, passed by Merlin's Cave, which was to be found by mere chance only. A venerable sire, with hoary hair and beard, sat musing at the entrance of the cave; he held in his hand a black and white wand, his head was covered with a high pointed cap, and his garment consisted of a long sable robe covered with stars. Hist. of Claris and Laris, 184. His power of prophecy did not cease with his life—"Arthur" stopped at the place where Merlin was entombed, and "whose voice nevertheless continued to deliver oracles." Tristan, p. 292.

THE ROUND TABLE.

The mysterious table which Merlin gave to Arthur and his father, (*Le Grand Fabliaux*, vol. 1. p. 14.) has been known through Europe by the title of the Round Table. Some of the Welch fancy, that after the conquest of Norway and the capture of Paris, Arthur on his return to Britain instituted the order of knights of the round table. Jones's Relics, 80. Jeffry has not transmitted this incident, though he mentions the splendid feast at Caerlleon, which the Triads also commemorate. These parallel Arthur's feast with the banquet of Cafwallon given after the retreat of Cæsar, and with that of Emrys Wledig on his defeat of the Saxons.

Note
k.

It may be thought curious to know how this table was described. The romance of Tristan will satisfy us:

"The great and skilful Merlin had exhausted all the secrets of his art in the constructing of that table. Thirteen seats were placed round it in honour of the thirteen apostles. Twelve only of these could be filled up, and only by the bravest and truest knights. The thirteenth represented that of the execrable traitor Judas. It was called the perilous

B b 4

chair,

chair, ever since a rash and presumptuous Saracen had dared to set himself on it, when on a sudden the floor gave way, and the miscreant was swallowed up, and consumed by devouring flames.

"By means of the spell, an invisible hand traced on the back of the seat the name of the candidate who deserved to fill it, and who must have proved himself superior in every respect to the companion whom he was to succeed; otherwise, whoever presented himself was instantly repelled by an unknown force. This was the trial those brave champions underwent whenever an election was become necessary by the decease of any of the worthies.

"Of the twelve honourable seats, that of Morehoul, of Ireland, had remained ten years vacant. Arthur led Tristan to the empty seat. A celestial harmony was heard as he advanced, and the ambient air was sweetened by the most fragrant perfumes; the name of Morehoul disappeared, and that of Tristan was seen most resplendent and conspicuous. Now his modesty was put to a hard trial; he was obliged, when seated, to detail all his achievements, which the clerks, as usual, took down." *Tristan*, p. 263.

The received custom of the round table was, for a younger companion to seek adventures during ten days after his reception; the other knights had leave to follow him in disguised armour, and provoke him to the joust, but not to serious combat. *Ib.* 273.

But though from Jeffry's silence about the round table we may presume that the fable originated after his publication, yet it soon got into vogue. The *vetus ceremoniale MSS.* cited by Du Cange, 3 *Gloss. med. Lat.* 1049, states that, "Le roy Arthus d'Angleterre et le duc de Lancastre ordonnerent et firent la table ronde, et les behours tournois, et joustes, et moult d'autres chose nobles et jugemens d'armes dont

dont ils ordonnerent pour juger dames et damoiselles, roys d'armes et heraux."

It seems as if the Welch had some traditions about the round table; for one of their authors, Guto'r Glyn, says, "for one book he is complaining, which he loves more than gold and precious stones, the fair Greal of this country, a book of the famed knights, a book of the mystery of all the round table." Owen's Dict. voc. Greal.

The round table has been attributed to Uthur and Charlemagne as well as to Arthur. The increased knowledge or scepticism of more recent periods has doubted whether such an order of chivalry has ever existed. It has been inferred with considerable probability, that it was a sort of feast and military sport. *Histoire Acad. Inscrit.* vol. 9. p. 535. 12mo. Du Cange describes it to be a species of tournament by a definite number of knights, who, before they went into the ring, sat down for refreshment at a large round table. In this order no distinction of place appeared, and of course all contests for precedence were avoided. 3 Gloss. 1049. Volterranus Geogr. l. 3. p. 23, gives to Arthur the same reason for the use of the round tables. So Camden, 1. Gough, 118.

When tournaments were forbidden, round tables were also prohibited. Thus Clemens V. in his bull, "Quinetiam in faciendis justis prædictis, quæ tabulæ rotundæ in aliquibus partibus vulgariter nuncupantur, eadem damna et pericula imminet quæ in torneamentis prædictis, idcirco, certa causa, idem jus statuendum existit." Du Cange, ib. 1050.—It is clear, that whatever may have been their origin, round tables became an appellative of a certain sort of jousts. Matthew Paris says, that knights exercise themselves not in the sport of arms, commonly called tournaments, but rather in that military play which is named round table, p. 846.—Jousts were
single

single combats; tournaments general engagements. Du Cange, voc. Justa.

The ancient Celtæ sat at their meals in a circle, but not to mix promiscuously without distinctions of rank. The most illustrious sat in the middle; the next in dignity were placed in order from him; the shield bearer stood behind; the spear bearers sat against them in a circle, and feasted like their masters. Posidonius in Athenæus, l. 4. p. 152. Camden, 1. Gough, 118. remarked this passage.

Note
1.

Winchester was one of these :

And for great Arthure's seat her Winchester prefers,
Whose old round table yet she vaunteth to be her's.

Drayton, 28.

Tradition ascribes the castle to king Arthur; a round table, idly pretended to be Arthur's, yet hangs in it. 1 Gough. Camden, 136.

Camelot and Caerleon were the others :

Like Camelot what place was ever yet renowned,
Where as at Caerleon oft he kept his table round,
Most famous for the sports at pentecost so long,
From whence all knightly deeds and brave achievements
sprong.

Drayton, 48.

The Cambrian authors do not consider this order as a joke. Sir John Pryse avers, that according to the British monuments, "no one was admitted into this order but those whom "some illustrious virtue had exalted above the rest; either "courage in war, sagacity, eloquence, diplomatic dexterity, "extensive liberality, or a benign temper, was an indispensable qualification. With such merits might not all the actions "ascribed to the knights have been performed?" Pryse Defence, p. 138.

Le

Le comte de Caylus ingeniously maintains, " que le
" regne brillant de Charlemagne est la source de tous les ro-
" mans de chevalerie et de la chevalerie elle même," p. 410.—
" Les Anglois jaloux et fâchés de voir leur histoire dénuée
" d'un si grand ornement, voulurent se donner un roi compa-
" rable à ce grand prince. Voila ce qui nous a procuré les
" histoires du roy Artus," p. 416.—" Les douze pairs de l'un
" repondent aux chevaliers de la table ronde de l'autre." p.
422. Histoire Acad. Inscrip. v. 11.

Note
m.

M. le Grand remarks, that " l'invention de la roman-
cerie fut accueillie par l'Angleterre avec la même ardeur que
par nos autres voisins. Mais ce peuple jaloux, et des lors en-
vieux de la France, ne voulant pas donner a ses paladins un
chef Français tel qu' eut été Charlemagne, il imagina de s'en
choisir un autre parmi ses rois, et d'en faire un heros fameux,
qui par ses exploits eclipsat le notre. Le personnage destiné
à ce beau role fut Artus, prince ignoré et d'autant moins pro-
pre a le remplir que dans l'histoire il n'en joue aucun. Præf.
Fabl. p. 30.

Le Grand Fabliaux, p. 14.

Note
n.

M O R G A N A.

By some this kind lady is called his sister. Mourge
Morgane ou Morgain, comme l'appellent les anciens manu-
scripts, était sœur d'Artus et eleve de Merlin, qui lui enseigna
la magie. Elle avait pour amant le chevalier Guimars, avec
lequel elle fut un jour surprise au lit par la reine. Genevre,
qui de son côté aimant le beau Lancelot avait des motifs pour
excuser sa belle sœur, eut l'imprudence d'aller publier sa honte.
Morgane se retira de la cour; mais elle jura de se venger, et
de la vinrent toutes les niches qu'elle fit a son ennemie dans
la suite." Le Grand, 74. He states one instance of her fairy
cruelty, p. 81.

Note
o.

The

The ancient Britons thought her a *dea phantastica*, a supernatural being, who took away Arthur's body. Giraldus Cam. ap. Langh. p. 92. Drayton alludes to such a one:

"The feasts that under ground the fairy did him make,
"And there how he enjoyed the Lady of the Lake.—p. 62.

Giraldus states her to have been *nobilis matrona, et partium illarum dominatrix*, and a relation of Arthur. 5 Leland Collect. 44. Leland thought her a woman *pietatis plane incomparabilis*. Ib. 45.

Morgana is one of the agents in the history of *Claris and Laris*, a romance of chivalry. She is thus mentioned in the extract published from the MSS. in the possession of M. St. Palaye.

"The road they were to follow led through the forest of Broseliande, where Merlin was spellbound by the enchantments of the fairy Viviana. Her pupil Morgana, also a fairy, had fixed herself in this forest. We read in the history of the round table that Morgana was sister to king Arthur, and had spent some years at his court, where she had been for a time its greatest ornament by the charms of her youth and beauty; but age having impaired her charms, she had recourse to art; the toilet was the first she tried, but this becoming insufficient, she was reduced to the necessity of employing her potent incantations. She made several conquests. She gave proofs of her preference to the great Lancelot of the Lake, which Genievre, Arthur's beauteous consort, bore very impatiently. At last she retired from the court to the forest we speak of, where, at her command, her invisible agents erected an enchanted palace. She was followed in her delicious retreats by young and beautiful varlets, esquires, and as many knights as preferred the inglorious but delightful pleasures that awaited them with Morgana to the honourable toils of knight errantry. The fairy was also constantly attended by spirits
and

and other familiars, who gave her an exact account of what passed within a certain distance from her palace, and assisted her in inveigling every traveller whom she best thought worthy of her notice.

“ Claris and Lidamia’s brother were at three miles distance from Morgana’s retreat, when two beautiful kids skipping before seemed to invite them to follow their track through a most luxuriant grove. They had not gone above an hundred yards in that enchanting road before they met with a company of hunters and huntresses, with whom they readily mixed in order to follow the sport. As they drew nearer to the palace, a troop of dancing shepherds and shepherdesses joined their company, till our knights came to the very gate, and as it was open curiosity enticed them to examine the inside of a dwelling, which from the outward appearance promised so ample a gratification to their senses; they were not mistaken; every object they met with was equally surprizing and new, till at last, entering the house, they were led through a range of anti-chambers, each surpassed by the next in point of elegance and splendor, to Morgana’s apartment, which was hung with a pink lustring richly fringed with gauze and artificial flowers. The fairy, in a light and attitude best calculated to set off her borrowed charms, was reclined on her couch.” p. 153, 154.

The services of Morgana to Arthur, after his ill-fated conflict with Medrawd, are stated in the verses which Leland, 44. ascribes to Merlin; Caledonius and Pryse, 137, to Taliesin. “ Thither we brought Arthur wounded in the battle of Cam-
“ lan, Barinchus conducting us, to whom the seas and stars
“ were known. When we arrived at the island Morgana re-
“ ceived him with becoming honour, and placed him on her
“ bed with golden props, and uncovered and examined his
“ wound, and at length said he might return to life if he re-
“ mained a long time with her, and would use her medicines.

“ Rejoiced

"Rejoiced we committed the king to her care, and returned
"home with prosperous winds."

For a poetical description of the island in the ocean, which neither violence, nor cold, nor death, nor disease, nor sorrow, nor old age molests, and in which Arthur is still living with the royal virgin his physician, and her attendants, see the author quoted in Usher's *Primordia*, c. 14. p. 524.

The romance of Triffan states, that the Lady of the Lake, after her enchantment of Merlin, had fallen in love with king Arthur, had inveigled him to the forest, and kept him in her palace, spell-bound, and by a magic potion deprived of his memory, and that the knights of the round table went out in search of their sovereign.

Note

P.

The return of Arthur to the world in some future age, was a favourite opinion in Wales and Bretagne. It was predicted by one of their oldest bards, Myrzin the Caledonian.

"Sweet apple-tree appearing to the eye a large and fair
"grove of stately trees! Monarch of the surrounding woods,
"shading all, thyself unshaded! Yet shall my song of prophecy announce the coming again of Medrod and of Arthur, monarch of the warlike host." He goes on to announce a repetition of their conflict. See the curious poem of the *Afallenau*, in Jones's *Relics*, p. 25.

Our Lydgate says,

"He is a king crowned in fairie,

"With sceptre, and sword, and with his regally,

"Shall resort as lord and sovereign

"Out of fairie and reigne in Britaine,

"And repaire again the round table;

"By prophecy Merlin set the date,

"His epitaph recordeth so certaine,

"Here lieth king Arthur that shall reign again."

Selden's *Notes to Drayton*, 54.

The

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The prophecy of Merlin was, *exitus ejus dubius erit*. Alanus on this says, *verissime quidem, sicut hodie probat, varia hominum de morte ejus et vita opinio*. He adds a curious passage, which shews the strength of the popular belief of this strange circumstance: "If you do not believe me, go into Bretagne, and mention in the streets or villages that Arthur is really dead like other men, you will not escape with impunity; you will either be hooted with the curses of your hearers, or be stoned to death," p. 17. Alan was born 1109. *Fab. Bib. Med. Lat.* vol. 1. p. 89.

From this national folly, *Arturum expectare* became a proverb to denote excessive credulity:

Quibus si credideris

Expectare poteris

Arturum cum Britonibus.

Pet. Bleff. Ep. 57. ap. 1 Du Cange, 346.

The coincidence between some circumstances mentioned in the tales of the Provençals, and the Welch traditions of Arthur and his friends, can only have arisen from communication. The Bretons must have been the medium through which the Welch narrations got to the Troubadours of Provence. We must also suppose that many of the French minstrels were Bretons, from their having so many tales about Arthur and his knights. It would be extremely curious if any old Breton MSS. could be collected, and as many of their traditions preserved as can now be authenticated.

Le Grand remarks, that Bretagne became le theatre de la plupart des exploits. Trois des plus celebres chevaliers de la table ronde, Tristan, Meleagus, et Lancelot, sont Bretons. La foret ou Merlin fut enchanté par Viviane, et qu'habitaient les fées, est Brocelande, aupres de Quentin. Enfin ces fables devenues populaires avaient fait donner a certains lieux des noms qu'on

Nota

Q.

qu'on retrouve encore dans les histoires. C'est ainsi que dans la vie de Louis trois on voit une action passée auprès du perron de Merlin, une autre à la croix de Malchart, où Merlin faisait ces merveilles. *Le Grand Fabliaux*, vol. 1. p. 107.

That places in Bretagne should, even in history, retain names from the characters who flourish in the Cambrian traditions, is very remarkable.

Note

For Talieffin's life, see before p. 201.

r.

Note

For an account of Myrzin, see p. 204.

s.

Note

t.

Melkinus Avallionius claruit, 550. Bale, 35. says, he wrote de Arthuri mensa rotunda; but Bale's authority is not sufficient to prove a point so very dubious as this. Leland quotes him, 5. 24. Is his existence certain? I observe a Melgin in Mr. Prys Poetry. Jones's Rel. 13.

Note

v.

See before p. 206. Let us not forget this noble sentiment,

"Didst thou hear what Llywarc sang,

"The intrepid and brave old man,

"Greet kindly tho' there be no acquaintance."

Ib. xviii.

The horn was used both to sound the alarm of war and to drink the mead at feasts. Ib. 33.

Note

u.

Les romanciers donnent au roi Artus quatre de ces cités: Caramalot où était la fameuse table ronde, Carlion, Caradigan, et Carduel, et c'est de là que partent presque tous les aventures des romans. *Le Grand*, 16.

Note

w.

A bard of Shrewsbury, who makes Wales "the park, and
"plaine Shropshire the pale," has honoured Caerleon with a climax, which closes with a sublimity that Blackmore might have envied:

"No

" No feeble praise may serve to set thee forth,
 " Thou hast been great tho' now but little worth.
 " Thy noble bounds hast reach'd beyond them all;
 " In thee hath been king Arthur's golden hall;
 " In thee the wise and worthies did repose,
 " *And thro' thy town the water ebbs and flows."*

Churchyard's Worthiness of Wales, p.

Caerleon was a place of splendor during the residence of the Romans. See its description by Giraldus, in Henry's Hist. England, vol. 1. p. 269, and see Williams's Monmouthshire.

Camden's description of Camalet is this: The river Ivel in Somersetshire receives a small rivulet, on which stands Camalet, a steep mountain difficult of ascent, having on its top traces of a decayed castle, and a triple rampart of earth inclosing twenty acres. The inhabitants call it king Arthur's palace; but the Roman coins dug up prove it to have been a Roman work. 1 Gough, 56. Leland's description of it is curious. " At the south end of the church of St. Cadbury standeth Camallate, wonderfully strengthened of nature, to the which be two enterings up by very stepe way, one by north-east, and another by south-west. The very roote of the hille whereon this fortres stode is more than a mile in cumpace. In the upper part of the coppe of the hille be four ditches or trenches, and a balky wall of yerth betwixt every one of them. In the very toppe of the hille, above all the trenches, is magna area or campus of a twenty acres or more by estimation, wher yn dyverse places men may see fundations, and rudera of walles. There was much dusky blue stone that people of the villages thereby hath carried away." Selden states it to have been full of ruins and relics of old buildings. In the fourth ditch is a never failing

Note
 X.

C c

spring,

spring, called King Arthur's Well, near which have been dug up square stones. Door jambs with hinges, and vaults, are said to be thereabouts. Many pavements, and arches, and camp utensils have been found at top. A road across the fields is called King Arthur's Causeway. Stukely. 1 Gough C. p. 67.

Note
y.

"The three unqualified bards of the isle of Britain, king Arthur, king Cadwallon, son of Cadvan," and another. Jones, p. 10.

Note
Z.

A Cambrian and an admirer accounts awkwardly for Arthur's faint appearance in history. "The Britons say of Gildas, who inveighed so severely against his countrymen, that he wrote in anger for the loss of his brother the prince of Albania, whom Arthur slew. They assert, that when he heard of his brother's death, he threw into the sea the excellent books which he had written of the actions of Arthur, and in praise of his nation; for this reason you find nothing in authentic history about so great a king." Giraldus de Illaud. Wall. c. 2. Was the Cambrian intellect so poor that Gildas was the only man capable of writing history at that time?

The non-appearance of Arthur in history is a strange phenomenon, which cannot be denied. The British Triads, No. 57. confess that "had it not been for music and poetry, even 'the feats of Arthur would have been inevitably lost.'" Jones's Relicks, 37. According to Drayton, the river Camell, who, because Arthur's blood mingled with her stream, hath been

"Carelesse ever since how shee her course doe steere,"
even this lady, though beside herself, had sense enough left

to

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to observe, that though upon other things, as a beauty or a monastery,

“ Time cannot make such waste but something will appeare,”

yet on her favourite the corroding gentleman

——— “ committed hath such theft,
That it of Arthur heere scarce memorie hath left.”

If Giraldus be accredited, Arthur had two wives, and the last was buried with him, whose yellow hair was found when the graves were penetrated. 5 Leland Collect. 47. Other authors give him three, and all of the same name; of these the second, having been virtuous, is supposed to have found asylum in his grave. Pryse Defens. 134. Caradoc of Lancarvan narrates to us, that his wife Guennivar was carried off by force by Melva, the king of Somersetshire, and secured in Glastonbury, whose natural fortifications made it easy of defence. For a year Arthur fought her fruitlessly, and at last heard of her residence. With his friends in Cornwall and Devon he assaulted the place. The abbot and Gildas interposed, and exhorted Melva to return her peaceably. He acquiesced. The obliging husband received her with affection, and both the kings endowed the conciliating monks with ample lands. Vit. Gildas ap. Usher Primord. c. 13. p. 469.

Note
(A).

In this affair this lady was not willingly in fault; at another time she, or her successor, was a little less scrupulous. She was the miè of Lancelot. Le Grand, p. 80. She loved him, p. 56. The malicious mantle, which fitted only the chaste, exposed her, by its unwelcome shortness, to the derision of her court. Ib. p. 59. This accident might have been explained away to the easy husband, but unfortunately, by the

laws of chivalry, "Le chevalier informé de la mauvaise conduite que tenoit la femme de son seigneur, ne pouvoit le lui dissimuler sans se rendre criminel." In obedience to this duty, Aggravain decouvre au roi Artus l'affront fait a ce prince dans la personne de sa femme par Lancelot, qu'elle amait. Mordel added, that they had concealed it as long as possible, but they found at last it must have been discovered; that feeling they had been perjuring themselves by concealing it, they came forward to announce the sad tale. Lancelot du Lac ap. M. de S. Palaye, 35. Mem. Ac. Inscrit. 177.

The most abominable crime of the wife or wives of Arthur, was the vicious union with Medrawd, her husband's nephew. Inflamed with the recollection, Myrddhin, who knew her, cries out, "Then let Gwenhyfar remember the crimes she has been guilty of." Jones, 25. Jeffry, l. 10. c. 13. states this adulterous connection and its fatal consequences. He terminates her life in a nunnery, l. 11. c. 1.

In the poem of Arthur a Gwenhwyvar, she has the epithet of olwg wrthrog, of forbidding eye, which perhaps is meant to express her pride.

I know not whether the Welch poetry alludes to her intrigue with Lancelot; but the romance of Tristan repeatedly mentions it, and has even made her avow it to Tristan. It hints also the private suppers between Tristan and Yseult, Genievre and Lancelot. I observe that it also notes a knight Meleagant, as the ill-favoured lover of the queen. To maintain the pre-eminence of her beauty, Meleagant fought the Amoral of Wales; but as the knights of the round table were not permitted to assail each other, unless on a personal quarrel, as soon as the heroes recognized each other, they embraced. The Lai de Lanval mentions, that the queen also loved this chevalier Breton. Le Grand, p. 97.

"The

"The three undaunted chiefs of king Arthur's court, and the three knights of battle, who would never acknowledge a competitor; to whom Arthur sung this stanza.

Note
(B).

"These are my three knights of battle,
Mael and Lluz, clad in armour,
And the pillar of Cambria, Caradoc." Jones, 10.

The attention which the romancers paid to the names of persons who seem really to have lived with distinction in the times of Arthur is extremely curious, and makes me desirous to ascertain whether the tales of the romancers did not originate in Wales and Bretagne.

To assist in this enquiry, I will state the persons who I find mentioned in the romances of Tristan, and of Claris and Laris, as the knights of the round table.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Carados. | |
| 2. The Amoral of Wales. | |
| 3. Hector des Mares, brother to | |
| 4. Lancelot of the lake, | 9. Galeard. |
| 5. Dinadam, | 10. Yvain. |
| 6. Boort. | 11. Gahereit. |
| 7. Driam. | 12. Gauvain. |
| 8. Bliomberis. | 13. Perceval, a young knight. |

} Arthur's
nephews.

There are also mentioned Treu, or Queux, the senechal of king Arthur, and his foster brother, and Meinion, a younger knight, who fell a victim to the treachery of Narbon the black. Morhoult of Ireland was killed by Tristan, who succeeded to his place at the round table. Lucan, Sacremor, and Agravain, are also called worthies.

Gauvain is described as the son of king Loth. I presume the same with Llew, who married Anna, the sister of Arthur, and who was the father of Medrawd. Loth is placed in Orkania.

Yvain is the son of Urianus, or Urien, who was besieged by Talla the Dane. Is not this Owain, the son of Urien, who fought with Ida and Ella?

There are also mentioned Marcus king of Cornwall, Houel king of Nantes in Lower Brittany; and it is said that Cornwall was in servile tribute to Morhoul of Ireland.

It is a striking circumstance, that the romance of Tristan calls England, Logres. This certainly indicates a Welch origin. North Wales is styled Nargales.

Carados is mentioned in the romance of *Le Manteau mail taillé* with the same epithet which is given to him in the ancient Welch Triad quoted in this history, p. 251. The old romancer says, "Messire Karados Brise-bras." *Le Grand, Fabliaux*, p. 68. The Triad has Karadawg Vreikvras, or Karador with the strong brawny arm. Two epithets so unusual and so similar must have had the same origin; but as the Welch Triad precedes the romance by some ages, we must say that the Provençal borrowed the hero and his epithet from Wales, or its traditions as preserved in Bretagne.

I find another trait, which has a similar aspect, and which indeed avows its Cambrian in its Armorican origin. A pretty tale, called *Lai de Lanval*, a ballad on Lanval, a chevalier Briton, thus closes: "Les Bretons disent que la fée l'emmena dans une île charmante, nommée d'Avalon, ou ils ont vecu heureux. Ou n'en a point entendu parler depuis; et quant a moi je n'en ai pas appris davantage." *Le Grand*, p. 104. The isle of Avallonia, or Glastonbury, we have already mentioned.

There is another resemblance in the lady of Tristan; the Welch call her *Essylt*, the romance *Yfeult*.

The romances published by *Le Grand*, besides the *Seneschal Queu*, *Gauvain*, *Yvain*, and the others, also mention *Brehus sans pitie*, *Ydier*, *Lucan le bouteiller*, *Girflet*, *Agravain l'orgueilleux*,

gailleux, Sacremor le defrée, and Gruelan a Breton, who receives from a fairy a horse called Gedefer.

These romances talk perpetually of Arthur holding his courpleniére at Carduel every Whitfuntide, and entitle Lancelot un de ces rois de Gaule vassaux d'Artur.

I wish all the old Welch writings were published, that we might compare them with the Provençals.

"The three golden tongued knights of the court of Arthur.

Note
(C).

"Gwalchmai, son of Gwyar,
Drydvas, son of Tryphin,
And Eliwlod, son of Madog ab Uthr.

"These three were so ingenuous, mild, and eloquent, with such gentleness of language, that it was found almost impossible to deny their request." Jones, p. 10.

The British Triads were brought into notice in the last century by Mr. Vaughan, who thought they had been written about the end of the seventh century. Llyud Archæol. 264. Several extracts are to be found in Mr. Jones's book, which contains much valuable matter and interesting music. It is only to be wished that the airs of the Welch bards had been distinguished by notes of their chronology, and a fuller history of their preservation.

Many other chiefs, counsellors, compeers, and guests of king Arthur's court, are mentioned in the Triades, in Jones, p. 10—12.

Gauvain in French. Le Grand.—Galvainus and Gallovinus. Langhorn, 90. Leland Coll. 5. 24.—Walwinus. Malmsh. ib.—Walganus, Annævillianus. ib. in Latin, and Gwalchmai in Welch, Langhorn, 90. He is celebrated by Melchin. Lel. ib. He was Arthur's nephew; he distinguished

Note
(D).

guished himself in the battle of Camlan, and perished in it. *Lel.* p. 27. *Jeffry*, 11. c. 1. For his sepulture, see *Malmshbury*, 115.

He was the conseiller et le bras droit d'Artus. Il fut l'un des plus fameux chevaliers de la table ronde; nos vieux romanciers ne le designent que sous le nome du sage Gauvain. *Le Grand*, 42. His lady was one of those detected by the manteau mal taillée. *Ib.* 63. A very pleasing tale of a temptation withstood by him is in *Le Grand*, vol. 1. p. 25. His character a poet of the middle age has drawn. "I, Walgan, never disgraced myself by avarice. My hand has poised the sword, but never the weighty bag; where it scatters it receives; it hews weapons, not coffers. The soldier never, like the peasant, strives to pilfer money. Wars summon me. Covetous anxiety impels you. Farewell."

Annævillanus ap. Uther, 514.

The Welch have poems which concern him. The fabliaux of *la Mule sans Frein*, *le Chevalier a l'Epee*, and *le Manteau mal taillé*, relate to him.

Note
(E).

Lancelot was the son of one of the kings of Gaul, who were Arthur's vassals. "C'était l'amant cheri de l'épouse du monarque, et le plus brave ainsi que le plus beau de tous les chevaliers de la table ronde—sa fidélité pour le reine est renommée dans les romans.—Une femme étant venue le trouver le nuit, et l'assurant que la reine ne pourrait en être instruite, he answered, quand elle ne le saurait jamais mon cœur, qui est toujours près d'elle, ne pourrait l'ignorer. 1 *Le Grand*, 87. He survived the battle of Camlan. 5 *Lel. Coll.* 27. *Le Vallon des faux Amans* gives an agreeable adventure of him. *Le Grand*, 80. For another of his adventures from the *Mort d'Arthur*, see in *Whitaker's Manchester*, 2. p. 49.

The

The Lancelot du Lac is about him. Mr. Whitaker thinks that perhaps he was the monarch of Lancashire, and resided at Coccium, or more probably was king of Cheshire, and resided at Pool ton Lancelot, in the hundred of Wirral, p. 51.

According to the Welch, Trystan was the son of Tallwch, a disciple of Myrzin, and one of the chief warriors of Arthur's court. Jones, 14. He is mentioned in two of the Triades as one of the tri gogyfurdd, or three compeers of Arthur's court, and as one of the three amorous princes of Britain, because he was in love with Essylt, daughter of March ab Meirchion, his uncle. Jones, 12. He was also a bard, and was such a good performer on the harp, that he charmed la bel Ifod, daughter of the king of Ireland. Ib. 58. On some umbrage he left Arthur's court for three years. The king dispatched successively twenty-eight of his knights to bring him back, but no efforts of intreaty or violence could avail. At last Gwalchmai with the golden tongue persuaded him to return. Ib. 12.

Note
(F).

Un des plus anciens de nos romans est Tristan. Son cor d'yvoire et son enchantement a été travestie dans la suite en court mantel. Caylus, 11. Hist. Ac. Inscr. 253. The ivory horn, which the fairy Morgana sent, was pour qu' Artus pût connoître toutes les bonnes dames de sa cour, et si la reine avoit jeu avec une autre chevalier, le saurait son mari par le cor. On la faisoit remplir de vin et on le donnoit aux dames a boire. Celle qui son seigneur avoit faussé, n'y pouvoit boire que le vin ne repandit sur elle, et qui ne l'avoit pas faussé y pouvoit boire sans repandre. Le Grand, 71.

The romance of Tristan makes him the son of Meliadus, king of Leonnois, or Bretagne, and of Isabella, daughter of Felix, king of Cornwall. He is in love with Yseult, the daughter

daughter of Arguis, a king in Ireland, who married the sister of Morhault, an Irish king, to whom Cornwall was in servile tribute. Arthur was the paramount of Arguis. The adventures of Tristan are too numerous to be detailed here. In attempting to carry Nantes by storm for Runalen, son of king Houel, whom Urnois, king of Nantes, would not acknowledge for his sovereign, Tristan was wounded by a maffy stone, and soon after expired.

Note
(G).

The aptitude of Arthur's history for an epopea has been sung by Drayton.

As some soft sliding rille which from a lesser head
Extends itself at length unto a goodly stream,
So almost thro' the world his fame flew from this realme,
That justlie I may charge those ancient bards of wrong,
So idly to neglect his glorie in their song.
For some abundant braine, O there had been a storie,
Beyond the blind man's might to have inhanc't our glorie.

3 Song, p. 48.

EPILOGUE.

On the whole we may say of Arthur with Maistre Huistace,

Ne tot mançonge, ne tot voir,
Ne tot folie, ne tot savoir,
Tant ont li conteor conté
Et li fableor fablé
Par lor contes anbeletes
Qui tot ont fait fables sanbletes.
Par la bonté de son corage,
Et par le les de son barnage,
Et par la grant chevalerie,
Qui lot affaitice et norie,

11 Hist. Ac. Inf. 423.

Or

A P P E N D I X.

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Or as the bard of queen Elizabeth sweetly sings,

Then let Caerleon have his right,
And joye his wonted fame;
And let each wise and worthie wight
Speake well of Arthur's name.

Churchyard, 26.

F I N I S.

LONDON: Printed by LUKE HANSARD,
No. 6, Great Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

APPENDIX

Or as the hand of queen Elizabeth's early days

Then let Cæsar have his right

And let his sword be true;

And let each wife and woman's right

Speak well of Arthur's name.

Chorus, &c.

FINIS

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